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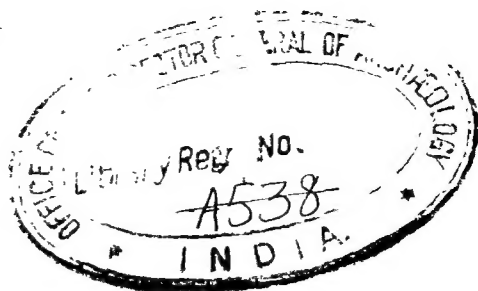
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A FORGOTTEN EPIGRAPHIST

MR. C. T. OXIONS, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, has generously allowed me to examine a manuscript collection of inscriptions recently acquired by him and to publish such account of it as may be of interest to epigraphists. I gratefully avail myself of his kind permission.

The collection is contained in a book measuring $12\frac{1}{2} \times 7 \times 1$ ins., roughly bound and covered with white vellum. On the front is written 'Inscriptions collected by Tho^s Blackburne Esq^r,' and on the back of the cover 'Foreign Inscript^s. Tho^s Blackburne.' The book contains ninety-six folios, unnumbered, the first of which bears the title

INSCRIPTIONS

IN

1748

1749

Collected by

Tho^s Blackburne Esq^r

The verso of the great majority of the folios is left blank, though occasionally, where the page was too narrow to contain an inscription, the copy extends over the verso of one folio and the recto of the next. Folios 79 and 96 are left entirely blank.

Of the collector I can learn nothing. To judge by the British Museum and the Bodleian Library Catalogues, he published no account of his travels and observations. It seems to me, however, not improbable that he may be the same Thomas Blackburne who, in 1775, published at Edinburgh (Apud Balfour et Smellie, Academiae Typographos) as a doctoral dissertation a work entitled *Dissertatio de medici institutis*. The author is there described as 'Anglus, Soc. Med. Edin. Soc.,' his acquaintance with the Continent is suggested, though by no means proved, by the dedication of his work, 'Carolo Dunant, M.D., Civi Genevensi, et amicitiae, sacrum,' and his interest in classical studies is evident from the introduction, in which the history of medical research and training in the ancient world is traced from the days of Podalirius and Machaon to those of Galen. The wide difference between the date of the MS. and that of the published work may be held to militate against the theory of the identity of the authors, but the writer of the dissertation expressly describes himself as one *cui, quoniam serus ad hoc studium accessi, omnia percurrenda, paucis incumbendum esset*.

The MS. itself contains little beside copies of inscriptions. Greek and Latin, arranged in the order in which they were seen by the traveller and provided

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ordinarily with no commentary save an indication, more or less precise, of the place where each was copied. Three loose sheets inserted in the book contain :

(a) A rough, annotated sketch of the ground-plan of 'Teron's Tomb Gergenti,' which bears also the remark 'This is y^e only antient building';

(b) A similar ground-plan¹ of 'An Antic Temple at Gergenti now a Church dedicated to S. Biagio';

(c) A similar ground-plan of 'A Theater upon y^e Hill at Segesta 8 or 10 Miles from Castelamari.'

There is nothing in the MS. to throw light upon the reason of Blackburne's tour and the time spent in each of the places he visited. The only indications of date, beside that contained in the title already quoted, are on fo. 17, where a Latin inscription from Citta Vecchia, Malta, is described as 'Found whilst I was at Malta at the old Town May 1749. n.s.,' and on the reverse of the same folio, which bears the following note on a Greek inscription (*I.G.* xiv. 7), 'Found at Syracuse when I was there July. 1749.' It would seem, therefore, that few of the texts can have been copied in 1748 and that the majority of them were collected in the next year.

Blackburne's itinerary may be inferred, at least in part, from the order of the topographical notices accompanying the inscriptions. It included the following places (I retain the spelling of the MS.) :—

Castellone near Gaeta, Gaieta, Messina, Taormino, Mola near Taormino, Catania, Syracuse, Maltha La Valletta, Gozzo, Citta Vecchia in Maltha, Syracuse, Alicata, Gergenti, Mazzara, Marsala, Mount Eryce, Palermo, Termini Thermae Himereorum, Sorrentum, Puzzuolo, Salerno, Nola, Monte Sarchio, Benevento, Santa Maria di Capoua, Capoua, In y^e Road from Capua ab^t 11. m. tow^{ds} Monte Casino, Monte Casino, Castilmara, Rome.

It is not my intention to deal here with the Latin inscriptions, which form a large majority of the collection, but a few notes on the Greek may not be out of place in this *Journal*. It will be convenient to follow the order not of Blackburne's MS. but of the *Corpus* of Greek inscriptions of Italy and Sicily. The first number is that borne in *I.G.* xiv., the second that of the folio on which each occurs in the MS.

2 (fo. 13). 'In y^e Court of y^e Bps Palace.'

37 (fo. 13). 'On y^e Theater.'

7 (fo. 17-18). 'Found at Syracuse when I was there July. 1749.'

The following readings may be noted : Col. I. l. 1 ΦΡΟΝΤΙΞΕΙΝ, l. 4 ΙΕΙΣ, l. 11 ΕΑΜΕΙΣ οί. Col. II. l. 1 ΙΔΕΝΙΕΞΟΥ, l. 3 ΚΑΙ/. L. 7 is omitted.

256 (fo. 19-21). 'At Alicata in y^e Gate Way of the Castle.' Blackburne has the following noteworthy variants : l. 3 ΚΙΟC, l. 4 ε throughout, Ξ, l. 7 ΓΥΜΝΑCΙΑΡΧΩΙΕΔΟΞΕ, l. 8 ΚΑΟΛΚΑ. ΑΙΡΟΥΛΛΗ, l. 9 CCTONCATEE, l. 17 ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝ, l. 25/6 ΓΥΜΝΑCΙΟΝ, l. 29 ΑΝΟΓΡΑΦΗCΗ, l. 30

¹ For the recent excavation of this in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1926, 118 ff. temple of Demeter see P. Marconi's report

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295 (fo. 36). 'In the Jesuits College.'

329 (fo. 40). Col. I. l. 1 ΜΕ, l. 3 ΣΤΗΣ. In l. 5 Blackburne gives ΚΑΙΤΕΑΚΕΥΘΟΙ, and in l. 6 CIO for CEIO and ΚΑΙ for ΓΑΙΑ.

402 (fo. 2). 'These two Inscriptions are on different sides of a Granite Coll. in v^e Mother Church. Messina.'

431 (fo. 5). In 'ye Pallace of ye D. di Santo Stefano.' L. 3 ΧΑΡΙΣΤΗ.

536 (fo. 10). 'In y^e Museum of y^e Benedictines' at Catania. L. 1
 ΙΕΤΕΩΕ ΧΑ, l. 6 ΕΤΗ.

600 (fo. 13). 'At y^e Jesuits Garden where there are two of the same.'

Page 236 (fo. 86). Unfortunately Blackburne's copy, careful though it apparently is, does not help to solve the difficulties of this inscription of Mithradates Eupator.

With the inscriptions copied at Rome we may deal more summarily. Of those which Kaibel marks as *falsae vel suspectae*, Blackburne copied (fo. 83-85) 148*, 240*, 243* (with the form *Πλατώνης* cf. 271* *Φοκίωνης*), 253* ('At the Capitol') and 261* ('At the Capitol': in l. 2 Blackburne read ΣΟΦΡΟΝΙΕΚΟΥ). No comment is needed on 1142 (85), 1166 (84), 1197 (85), 1203 (95, Villa Negroni), 1205 (85), 1226 (94, Villa Borghese), 1234 (91, Vatican), 1237 (93, Palazzo Ferretti), 1238 (92, Palazzo Farnese), 1251 (94, Villa Ludovisi), 1350 (85) and 1391 (87). In 1150 (84) Blackburne read ΜΕΤΡΟΔΩΡΟC (a spelling found in 229*); 1260 (2) was copied 'on y^e famous Vase y^t is made use of as a Font in the Mother Church. Gaieta.' I am uncertain whether Blackburne's ΛΥCΙΑC is 1179 or the forged 223*. In the bronze signet 'in the Jesuits College' at Palermo (2412²³) he gives (fo. 37) H as the third letter, which is almost certainly the correct reading.

Of greater interest is an epitaph which Blackburne (fo. 13) annotates thus: 'At Maltha. La Valletta. Found lately.' This was published in 1828 among the Attic inscriptions by A. Boeckh² in the correct form:—

ΣΥΝΦΟΡC
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔ
ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΑ

but the interpretation of the accompanying relief as portraying a man led Boeckh to reject the restoration *Σύνφορ[is]* 'Ηρακλείδ[ου] Καρυστία and to suggest *Σύνφορο[s]* 'Ηρακλείδ[ου] Καρύστι[ος]. The text was correctly restored in 1871 by S. A. Koumanoudis,³ *Σύνφορο[ν]* 'Ηρακλείδ[ου] Καρυστία, and this version was accepted in 1874 by E. L. Hicks⁴ and in 1892 by A. H. Smith,⁵ who describes the relief as representing a 'youthful female figure, standing, holding an ivy-leaf fan in the right hand, and a part of the mantle with the left hand.' Nevertheless in 1882 W. Dittenberger⁶ ignored the final Α, vouched for by the previous copies and still perfectly legible upon the stone,⁷ and restored *Σύνφορο[s]* 'Ηρακλείδ[ου] Καρύστι[ος], in which form it is cited by E. Ziebarth.⁸ Blackburne's copy shows the second Ο as complete and the right-hand stroke of the final Α as indistinct. All the above scholars assign the relief without question to Attica save Mr. A. H. Smith, who queried this attribution, presumably because of the absence of definite evidence. There seems no reason to doubt Blackburne's assertion that it was discovered at Malta, though, if the marble is really Pentelic, as Mr. Smith thinks, it may have been brought to Malta from Attica. *Σύμφορον* as a feminine name is well attested, e.g. in *I.G.* vii. 3016, 3264.

It remains to deal with the inscriptions, all of them brief or fragmentary, which are not found in *I.G.* xiv. and have not, so far as I know, been published hitherto.

I. 'At Gergenti. On a white marble Collumn at one of y^e Corners of y^e Mother Church' (fo. 21). The first four lines of the text are indicated as being wholly illegible; the copy then proceeds:—

5 ΙΟ✱Ν
. ΙΟΝΤΑΙ
ΤΟ Ν ΟΝ
✱Ο ΡΟ✱ΠΟΝΑΤΙΟΕΜΕ
ΜΟ ΕΙΡΟ✱ΑΙ
10 ✱ΝΧΡΗΑ ΟΝ
CATE✱ΚΕ✱Α✱ΛΙ
ΠΟΛΛΟΙCΕΤΕCΙΝ

² *C.I.G.* 857, ex schedis Mülleri.

Museum, i. 317. No. 650.

³ 'Αττικῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἐπιτύμβιοι, 226, No. 1875.

⁶ *I.G.* iii. 2510.

⁴ *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, No. ci.

⁷ I have to thank Mr. H. B. Walters for kind permission to examine the stone.

⁵ *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British*

⁸ *I.G.* xii. 9, p. 160, l. 61.

II. 'On Mount Eryce' (fo. 26). An inscription of six lines, wholly illegible save for the following letters in ll. 4, 5:—

..... YXIO . . . AKIADY
 KIIIA

Possibly we have in l. 4 some part of the name *Εὐτύχιος*: the same or a similar name occurs in another inscription from Mount Eryx, *I.G.* xiv. 284.

III. 'Palermo. In the Jesuits College' (fo. 36):—

MAT IΣΘP
 ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ
 ΣΑΡΒ

ICEPO Engrav'd on a Gold
 NANIC* ring inlaid wth lead. *Taormino.*
 IOH** These 3 ins^{ns} are y^e
 Palace of y^e D. di Santo Stefano.

At Mola near Taormino.
 ΕΚΤΙΘΗΤΟΤΟ
 ΤΟ ΚΑΣΤΡΟΝ ΕΥ
 ΠΙ ΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝ ΠΑ
 ΤΡΙΛ/ ΚΑΙ Τ*ΑΤ*
 CIK

FIG. 1.—FROM BLACKBURNE'S MS., FO. 5.

IV. 'Taormino. Engrav'd on a Gold ring inlaid wth lead . . . [in] y^e Pallace of y^e D. di Santo Stefano' (fo. 5). See fig. 1.

V. 'Catania . . . in y^e Museum of y^e Benedictines' (fo. 10):—

φ Γ
 ΟΡΑΛΕΝ
 ΓΙΝΟC
 Θ(εοίς) (κ)(αταχθονίοις) | Ο(ὐ)αλεν|τῆνος.

VI. 'Rome. On a Medaglione' (fo. 84):—

ΑΡΧΙΜΗΔ Ἀρχιμήδ[ης].

Blackburne further copied at Rome (fo. 85) the commemorative inscription (*C.I.G.* 3198) of 'Theon the Platonic philosopher,' *i.e.* the mathematician Theon of Smyrna, engraved below a bust bought in Smyrna by Fouquier, taken by him to Marseilles and subsequently acquired by Cardinal Albani.

This is now in the Capitoline Museum and has been most recently published in H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, 1912), 229, No. 25 and Pl. 57.⁹

Finally, Blackburne's copy (fo. 5. See fig. 1) of the ninth-century inscription recording the construction of the fort 'at Mola near Taormino' deserves mention, though it adds nothing to the publication of the text by G. L. Castello.¹⁰

MARCUS N. TOD.

⁹ For bibliography see *loc. cit.*; we may add J. J. de Gelder, *Specimen academicum inaugurale exhibens Theonis Smyrnaei Arithmeticam* (Leyden, 1827), xv ff.

¹⁰ *Siciliae et adjacentium insularum veterum inscriptionum nova collectio* (Palermo, 1769), 61, No. 1.

THE DAIMON OF THE PERSIAN KING

IN discussing the Persian worship of the king's daimon in *J.H.S.*, 1927, p. 54, I cited the following passage from Isocrates's *Panegyricus* (151): *θητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνοῦντες καὶ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες*. By an error, the origin of which I am at a loss to understand, I inserted the article *τὸν* before *δαίμονα* and accordingly misinterpreted the words.¹ The meaning is, of course, 'paying obeisance to mortal man and calling him daimon.' The passage cannot, therefore, be cited as evidence for the cult of the personal daimon of the Persian king.

The significance of the evidence provided by the quotations from Theopompus and from the *Artaxerxes* of Plutarch is not affected by the fact that the words of Isocrates do not apply to the same cult. There is indeed another reference to the subject in Plutarch, this time in the life of Themistocles, which I have chanced to find recently. In the description of Themistocles's reception at the Persian court (chap. xxix), the chiliarch is represented as saying in wrath to Themistocles: *ὄφεις Ἑλλήν ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ βασιλέως σε δαίμων δεῦρὸ ἦγαγεν*. The story is, of course, of dubious historical value, but it is evident that in some one of the numerous sources which he cites in this part of the *Themistocles*,² Plutarch found expression of the Persian belief in the idea of the king's daimon.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

¹ I am indebted to Professor Grace Macurdy for calling my attention to the mistake.

² The historians quoted in chap. xxvii belong mainly to the fifth and fourth centuries.

AN ATTIC CISTERN FRONT AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

IN the Third Graeco-Roman Room is a long relief, numbered 2154 and entitled a Votive Relief. It is described in the catalogue (1904) as 'Relief, perhaps votive, with Dionysos receiving a libation. The central group consists of Dionysos and a Maenad. . . . Behind the Maenad a large crater stands on the ground. . . . A moulding appears to have been tooled away above. . . . May be as early as the end of the fourth century. Athens: Elgin Collection. Height 2 feet 7 inches; length 5 feet 8 inches. Found among the ruins of the theatre of Herodes Atticus. Formerly in the possession of N. Logotheti. Stuart, ii, pp. 23, 45. . . .'

Close to the 'crater' a hole about an inch in diameter has been carefully

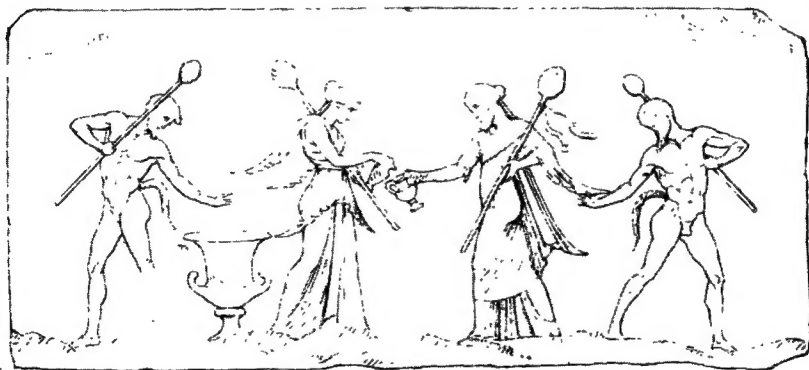


FIG. 1.—RELIEF IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (2154).

bored through the marble—so carefully that the presumption is that it is part of the original work, although it is suppressed in the old illustrations and is not mentioned in the descriptions. On looking behind the relief it at once appears that material at the two ends and the bottom has been cut away. The remnants of the parts which have been cut off suggest the two ends and bottom of a water trough or cistern. The hole mentioned above is situated an inch or so above what remains of the bottom, and thus conforms to the general tradition of stone water troughs such as several of granite which I have recently seen in Dartmoor farm-yards. From these evidences and the appropriate size it may not be doubted that the relief is the front of a water cistern.

In a little manuscript volume at the British Museum (Burney 402) are several interesting notes which incidentally touch on Greek sculptures. It begins, 'Inscriptions Athens,' and at the end is this note: 'Finished the

copy of this January the 24th, 1748, the third day of my quarrentine at Malta.' In the catalogue of MSS. it is described as 'A collection of Inscriptions copied by Anthony Askew, M.D., during his voyage in Greece.'

Against two short inscriptions numbered 18 and 19 is this note: 'Inscription 18th in the Consul's yard upon a stone 22 inches in height and 12 in breadth; and [19th] in the same yard a cistern of 1 yard 32 inches in length and 23 [?] inches in height, upon which are engraven four figures each with a Baton; two of these are Satyrs; the two middle ones, the one a woman with wings pouring from a pitcher of water into a small vessel which the other holds out to her.' Inscription 19 is ΗΠΟΛΙΣ. Elsewhere in the MS. the Consul is called the English Consul. Later the relief is described as having been preserved in 'the house of Logotheti the English Consul' (Ellis, 1833).

Dr. Askew's note obviously describes the relief now in the Museum. That it should have been inscribed in such a way adds very much to its interest; this inscription would have been on the upper margin, which as we saw has been tooled away. In this account of the cistern nothing is said of its origin, and the supposition that it was 'found among the ruins of the theatre of Herodes Atticus' is probably the result of reasoning on a false basis.

In Visconti's *Memoir* on the Elgin collection he describes the relief as having been 'long ago discovered in the ruins of the theatre of Bacchus built under the rock of the Acropolis towards the south-west.' Now it was a mistaken view that the S.W. theatre was that of Bacchus; it was, in fact, the theatre of Herodes Atticus, and it is quite probable that the sculptured cistern was assigned to the theatre of Bacchus because of its subject; Askew says nothing of its discovery. Originally it would have occupied a recess in a wall and formed part of the water supply of Athens. The top edge is polished by the wear of use.

The two central figures of the cistern relief are draped in the archaistic manner, but the two end figures of Satyrs, which are nude, show no signs of the archaising style. If these and the thyrsus which each one carries are compared with figures on the frieze of the monument of Lysicrates a close resemblance will, I believe, be allowed. Further, the crater on the cistern is so like others on the frieze of the monument that I could suppose both sculptures to be by the same artist; that the cistern relief and the frieze were very nearly of one date may not be doubted. Of the latter Miss Jane Harrison remarked: 'It is especially valuable as a monument the date of which, by the archonship of Euainetos (335 B.C.) is secure, and which therefore gives us a certain standard for fourth-century sculpture'—including, I may add, and even particularly, our cistern front.¹

W. R. LETHABY.

¹ Amongst Askew's notes I find the following interesting reference to famous statues once on the Acropolis: 'I likewise found a statue here [the Consul's House] of

one of the Graces of Socrates, without arms or head, the hair remaining tied and the garment girt round a belt and full of plaits [pleats?].'

IKAROS AND PERDIX ON A FIFTH-CENTURY VASE?

IN discussing Ikaros as represented on vase-paintings, Prof. J. D. Beazley has, I think, omitted one consideration which throws further light on a detail of the subject and strengthens his contention as regards the interpretation of a painting. He shows ¹ a picture from what he describes as 'a small red-figured lekythos, of about 470 B.C.,' which represents a winged youth either rising or sinking; he interprets him as sinking, which indeed the general attitude suggests, and calls attention to the presence just above him of a bird, which 'is flying almost straight down. . . . The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' He therefore concludes that the artist has chosen for his subject the fall of Ikaros during the escape from Crete.

That the bird is not there merely to fill up space I heartily agree; Greek artists of the fifth century were not fond of such tricks, having little or no *horror uacui* and possessing the precious talent of stopping when they had nothing more to say. That it incidentally shows the direction in which the chief figure moves I am perfectly ready to believe; it is a convention conceivable in itself and made reasonably probable—I do not think it is actually proved—by the other examples cited. But surely it is still better if the bird is part of the story, and this I believe it is.

The story of how Daidalos cast his nephew and pupil into the sea because he was jealous of his superior powers of invention is well known, especially to folklorists, since it is the Greek form of the widespread tale of the Prentice Pillar.² Since it is generally said that the victim was miraculously changed into a partridge, he is most commonly named Perdix, but by some authors Talôs or Kalôs. In the form of the legend given by Ovid ³ he is represented as present at the funeral of Ikaros,

hunc (sc. Daedalum) miseri tumulo ponentem corpora nati
garrula limoso prospexit ab elice perdix,
et plausit pennis testataque gaudia cantu est.

This we might suppose to be simply a connecting link due to Ovid's own ingenuity, and so indeed it may be; but it is to be noted that Sophokles knew the legend,⁴ though we have no information as to the details of his version, and that Ovid seems to have been well acquainted with Sophokles. At any rate, he names

¹ *J.H.S.*, xlvii (1927), p. 231, fig. 6. The vase is stated to be at New York.

² The relevant authorities are given by Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon*, iii., 1946, 63 sqq. See W. Crooke in *Folklore*, xxix. (1918), p. 219 sqq.; cf. xxxi. p. 323, H. A. Rose in xxxiv. p. 381, for comparative

material.

³ *Metam.*, viii. 236 sqq.; the question of reading (*limoso . . . elice* or *annoso . . . ilice*) does not affect the general sense.

⁴ See Frag. 323, Pearson (300 Nauck²), with Pearson's notes.

him alone of the Attic tragedians in his catalogue of immortals; ⁵ he is one of the few writers who know the Ἀχιλλέως ἐρασταί,⁶ though to be sure he may have had his information out of some Hellenistic book of literary scandal-mongering. It is therefore in no way impossible or improbable that he had this detail from the tragedian, and therefore that it is as old as the fifth century.

It remains to ask whether the bird on the lekythos is a partridge. This is not a crucial question, for we do not know how early the legend is in the forms in which we know it, nor what variants were current in or about 470 B.C.; the unfortunate nephew may have been said by some merely to have been turned into a bird; there is no very obvious reason why he should be a partridge in particular. I learn from Prof. D'Arcy W. Thompson that the figure in the vase-painting is so schematic that identification is impossible; it is merely a feathered fowl in general, and clearly we cannot even appeal to the spots on its wings and body, since Ikaros' artificial wings have them as well. But it seems highly likely that whether or not the painter was thinking of a partridge when he sketched the figure, he had in his mind the mythical Perdix (or Kalôs, or Talôs), and either followed some version of the legend sufficiently like Ovid's to represent him as rejoicing over the misfortune of his would-be murderer's son, or else, after a fashion not unknown to ancient painters, wanted to hint at the rest of the story of Daïdalos' Cretan adventures by introducing an allusion to the cause of his exile into a picture of the most moving incident of his escape.

H. J. ROSE.

⁵ *Amores*, i. 15, 15 :

nulla Sophocleo ueniet iactura cothurno.

⁶ *Tristia*, ii. 411 :

nec nocet auctori mollem qui fecit Achillem
infregisse suis fortia facta modis.

The mention of tragedy two lines before, and the absence of any other known play to which this could be referred, makes the reference to Sophokles practically certain.

RED-FIGURED VASES RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY THE HERMITAGE MUSEUM

[PLATES I-VII.]

WITH the Stroganoff Collection the Hermitage acquired a skyphos with PL. I. one horizontal and one vertical handle.¹

A. Woman with chiton and himation and man with himation and stick, offering a purse to the woman; he is holding a piece of money in his left hand. A lekythos is suspended between them. Inscriptions, twice, *ὁ παῖς καλός*.

B. A girl clad in chiton and himation offers a lekythos to a youth with himation and stick. Inscriptions, twice, *ὁ παῖς καλός*.

Very fine drawing; no relief outlines; purple on the leaves of the diadem, on the taeniae on the head of the youth and the man, on the purse. The muscles are drawn with brown varnish. There are to be noticed as most characteristic features: the high round form of the head on A, the expressive type of the faces, the realistic treatment of the mantles, the manneristic gestures of the hands. All the details prove that this skyphos is painted by the Penthesilea master.² Indeed the exterior of the Munich kylix 2688 offers analogies for the round form of the head, the drawing of feet and hands, the purple lines on the hands, the individual profiles. Most characteristic of this master is the type of the youth with curled hair.³ The skyphos of the Metropolitan Museum 06.1079, published by Miss Swindler,⁴ is very akin to our vase, though it is much inferior in execution. As to the quality of the drawing, the Boston kylix 03.815⁵ is much nearer. As on the Stroganoff skyphos, we find two types of female



FIG. 1.—HERMITAGE: LEKYTHOS 1921.

¹ Inv. 4224; total height 18.5 cm.; only the foot broken.

² Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 272.

³ Beazley, *op. cit.*, Nos. 11, 21.

⁴ *A.J.A.*, 1915, pp. 411-12; Beazley, *l.c.*, No. 5.

⁵ *A.J.A.*, 1915, Pl. XXV-XXVI; Beazley, *Vases in America*, p. 131.

heads: one with the broad taenia,⁶ the other with a sakkos.⁷ There is also the same treatment of the himation on the kylix of the Cabinet des Médailles, No. 814.⁸ The drawing of the collar-bones⁹ and the breast,¹⁰ the manneristic gesture of the hands,¹¹ the inscription in two lines, *ὁ παῖς καλός*, with the four-stroke sigma,¹² the palmettes under the handles,¹³ are quite in the manner of the Penthesilea master. The subject is also typical of him.

PL. IIa. The Botkin Collection gave us a lekythos painted by the Aischines painter.¹⁴ Height 19 cm.; the handle broken off; the surface damaged. The middle of the vase is decorated with a Nike; she is clad in a peplos and wears a sakkos, holding a purple taenia in her hands. The drawing is rather cursory: the heavy proportions, the big hands and feet, the symmetrical composition, the profile with the pointed nose, the drooping under lip, the protruding chin, the big ear, are most characteristic of the master. All these characteristic features we find on another lekythos of the Hermitage Museum, Inv. 1921 (Fig. 1), mentioned by Beazley,¹⁵ and on the Dresden vase ZV. 2858.¹⁶ The other lekythos in the Hermitage, Inv. 183,¹⁷ must be much later, the relief outline being absent; the proportions are also much taller. To the Aischines painter belong also two lekythoi in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts: Inv. 3265—Woman standing with a mirror, and Inv. 447—Youth running with lances. This old-fashioned man, who was not able to understand the new notions of art and repeated only the established types, presents some interest as representing Attic "dozenwork" with no pretence of being first class.

FIG. 2. Another second-rate master is the man who painted the vase in the British Museum E 342.¹⁸ We can contribute a small amphora from the Botkin Collection (height 22.5 cm.). A. Heracles clad in a short chiton, leaning on his club; Athena, characterised only by her spear, is pouring out wine into the patera held by the hero. B. Youth in mantle with phiale.

The muscles of the arms and legs, the locks of hair of Heracles, the lower edge of the short chiton, are drawn in diluted glaze. The beard of Heracles is executed in relief dots. The types are almost caricatured; especially Heracles with his thin legs and arms, most unheroic.

Our vase may be compared with another small amphora in the Hermitage (Fig. 3), (Inv. 1856, St. 398), which has been assigned by Beazley¹⁹ to the painter of London E 342. The shape, height (23 cm.), pattern and style are the same in both vases.

Another small amphora in the Hermitage from the Shouwaloff Collection (Fig. 4) might be executed by the same hand. A. Two women. B. Youth

⁶ Beazley, No. 23.

⁷ Beazley, Nos. 3, 5, 18, 23, 52, 58.

⁸ De Ridder, *Catalogue*, ii. 473-5; Pl. 22; Beazley, No. 10.

⁹ Beazley, Nos. 10, 51, 58.

¹⁰ Beazley, Nos. 2, 3, 9, 18, 51, 58.

¹¹ Beazley, Nos. 9, 18, 48.

¹² Beazley, Nos. 1, 10, 11, 18, 49.

¹³ Beazley, No. 48.

¹⁴ Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, p. 320.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 322, No. 48.

¹⁶ *Arch. Anz.*, 1925, p. 121, Abb. 18; Beazley, No. 39.

¹⁷ Beazley, No. 32.

¹⁸ Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

¹⁹ *L.c.*, p. 324, No. 17.



FIG. 2.—NOLAN AMPHORA: HERACLES AND ATHENA: YOUTH.



FIG. 3.—NOLAN AMPHORA: MAN; SEATED WOMAN.

in mantle. This amphora shows certain analogies in its style to two others : one in Terranova,²⁰ another, E 328, in the British Museum.²¹

PL. III,
FIG. 5.

One of the most interesting vases in the Botkin Collection is a large red-figured lekythos (height 41 cm.), ornamented on the shoulder with b.f. palmettes. The picture is bordered above by a meander, below by egg-pattern. The vase is decorated with a man pursuing a woman. It is Menelaus threatening Helen. Menelaus wears a short chiton with a narrow mantle over his arm; helmet and shield. Helen is clad in a short chiton and a bordered himation over her head. Between these two figures Eros is flying with a phiale in his hands. The swiftness of the pursuit is indicated by the parallel folds of the drapery, but this treatment becomes somewhat monotonous and negligent. The painter who executed this vase is by nature a mannerist. Characteristic of this master are the ugly profiles with pinched noses and the drooping under lips, the locks of hair done in diluted glaze.

A similar scene is found on a Nolan amphora in Naples, 3129,²² which is painted by the same hand. The design in motive and style is closely related to that of our lekythos. This amphora has been assigned by Beazley²³ to the painter of Petrograd 702 (Fig. 6), with Zeus and giant.²⁴ We find here also the same rendering of the chiton with tight folds.

The date of this group of vases may be the sixties of the fifth century B.C.

PL. IV.

A magnificent pelike with a scene of an Amazonomachy (Inv. 3374; height 33.5 cm.) is a gift from Mrs. Botkin. The vase has been broken.

A. A Greek warrior attacking with his sword an Amazon; he wears a short thin chiton, a helmet with crest and a shield. The Amazon, flying to the right, is preparing to defend herself with a battle-axe. To the left another Greek is running to the right with two spears in his right hand.

B. Two youths and a man in conversation.

Characteristic of this master are the fine flowing lines of the folds of chiton, the firm drawing of the profiles with curved mouths and fleshy chins. Only the drawing of hands and feet is a little rough. The figures on the reverse are heavy but vivid. For the ends of the hair the painter used a diluted wash. The movements of the figures, some details in the drawing, especially of the mantle-figures, show marked similarities in style to Polygnotos,²⁵ but the disposition of the figures on the plane is freer, the drawing finer and richer.

A similar pelike in Brussels, A 133,²⁶ with the same subject is closely related to our vase. Shape, patterns, composition and style are the same on both. They have many details which are unlike, such as the clothes of the Amazons and their shields, but in general they are singularly close in style. If we compare the drawing of faces, eyes with the narrow upper-lid lines, legs, arms

²⁰ Benndorf, *Griech. und Sicilische Vasen-bilder*, Taf. 55, 5; Beazley, No. 12.

²¹ *El. cér.*, i. Pl. 87; Beazley, No. 31.

²² Angelini-Patroni, *Vasi dipinti del Museo Vivenzio*, Pl. 7.

²³ *Att. Vas.*, p. 422, No. 6.

²⁴ Inv. 1592; St. 1610; Beazley, *op. cit.*,

No. 1.

²⁵ Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, p. 391, No. 2 = *Mon. d. Linc.*, ix. Pl. III; Beazley, No. 10 = *J.H.S.*, 1904, Pl. VIII.

²⁶ *Corpus Vasorum*, Mus. d. Cinquant., iii. 1d, Pl. 1, No. 1.



FIG. 4.—NOLAN AMPHORA: MAN; TWO WOMEN.



FIG. 5.—LEKYTHOS:
HELEN AND MENELAUS.



FIG. 6.—NOLAN AMPHORA: ZEUS AND GIANT.

and clothes, we shall find that it is the same painter who executed these two vases.

We may compare our vase also with a beautiful stamnos in the British Museum²⁷ with another Amazonomachy. The young Greek with spears given here and the rendering of the chiton are closely related to our pelike. Beazley²⁸ has attributed the picture of these two vases to an artist who resembles very closely the Christie painter. To this master belongs also our pelike from the Botkin Collection.

PL. va,
FIG. 7.

A Nolan amphora, in beautiful condition, with elegant proportions, also from the Botkin Collection, shows a picture of Europa on the one side and of an old man with a stick on the other. The pattern below A is composed of meander with saltire-squares, below B of a simple meander.

The brilliant black glaze, which covers the vase, is of extraordinarily good quality. The master is fond of the diluted wash: the folds of the chiton are indicated by brown lines; brown lines are also used for the lower edge of the himation and for the muscles. The painter likes pictorial effects more than pure drawing. The contour of the face lacks relief line; the proportions of the figure are thin; the eye is drawn correctly in profile, but the upper-lid line is not marked. Our vase is a work by the painter of the Boston Phiale;²⁹ it has his charm and grace, and shows his manner of drawing. Especially near is Nike on the phiale in Boston 97.371.³⁰ Beazley has recognised in the Hermitage two works by this painter: two Nolan amphorae,³¹ one of which is published here. We see the same faces, the same long-drawn lines for the folds of the mantles with a zigzag edge (Europa and the woman on side, B), the same fat arms and legs, the same drawing of the eye. By the same painter is also a calyx-crater (Inv. 2522; height 31.2 cm.) with a scene of Poseidon pursuing a woman. The vase has been broken and repainted, but at present it is partly cleaned. The drawing of muscles is made with thin, delicate and short lines, the folds in an impressionistic manner closely alike to the figures on B of our amphorae. Singularly akin in style to our crater is a fragment from Kerch (Inv. 102 f.) with the same scene: head and breast of a man pursuing a woman.

FIG. 8.

FIG. 9.

Lastly, a Nolan amphora in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts (from the Stroganoff school, Inv. 3468) is also by the painter of the Boston Phiale. A. Maenad and satyr. B. Woman.

Probably by the same artist are also two pelikai: Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hellenen*, Pl. 21; Millingen, *Peintures ant. de vases grecs de la coll. de Sir John Coghill, Bart.*, Pl. 29, 2; and the calyx-crater, *Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 26.

FIG. 10.

A hydria from the Botkin Collection with three women is another work of this period (height 31 cm.). The pattern consists of a laurel branch on the shoulder, of a meander with cross-squares below the picture and of the egg-band on the lip. The women are all dressed in long chitons and mantles,

²⁷ 98, 7-15, 1 = *J.H.S.*, 1921, Pl. VII, iv. 1.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 401, Nos. 1, 2.

²⁹ Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

³⁰ Beazley, *Vases in America*, p. 167, Fig. 103.

³¹ Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, Nos. 11, 25.



FIG. 7.—NOLAN AMPHORA: EUROPA; OLD MAN.



FIG. 8.—NOLAN AMPHORA: YOUTH AND OLD MAN; WOMAN.

holding flower, basket and alabastron. Two of them have large taeniae, and the third a fillet round her hair. The composition is very slow, the drawing somewhat academic and schematic, but correct, especially in the rendering of the drapery.

PL. VIIA. We can compare this hydria with a neck-amphora in the Hermitage (Inv. 1654, St. 1715) with Silen and Menad on the obverse and two youths on the reverse. We find here the same rendering of heads and drapery, a



FIG. 9.—CALYX-CRATER : POSEIDON AND WOMEN.

similar attitude of the Menad, the same big arms and legs. Beazley³² attributed this vase to the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy; one of his best works is another neck-amphora in the Hermitage with Zeus and Iris;³³ also recognised by Beazley.³⁴

PL. VIB.

PL. VII.

A beautiful fragment of a small cup with low foot, probably found in Kerch

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 407, No. 22.

³³ Inv. 1620, St. 1608; *Compte rendu*, 1873, 73; Waldhauer, *Antičniya raspisniya vasi v imperatorskom Ermitazje*, 1914, Fig.

16.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, No. 23. By the same hand, the hydria published in *Ausonia*, iv. (1909), p. 135, Fig. 5.

(Inv. 2777; diam. 6.5 cm.), belongs to the hand of an excellent miniature painter. The fragment has been broken. The decoration consists of a figure of a woman sitting on a stool in front of a coffer and holding a wreath. She is dressed in a thin chiton and a himation round the lower part of her body; round her hair is a sakkos. The drawing is extraordinarily fine. All parts

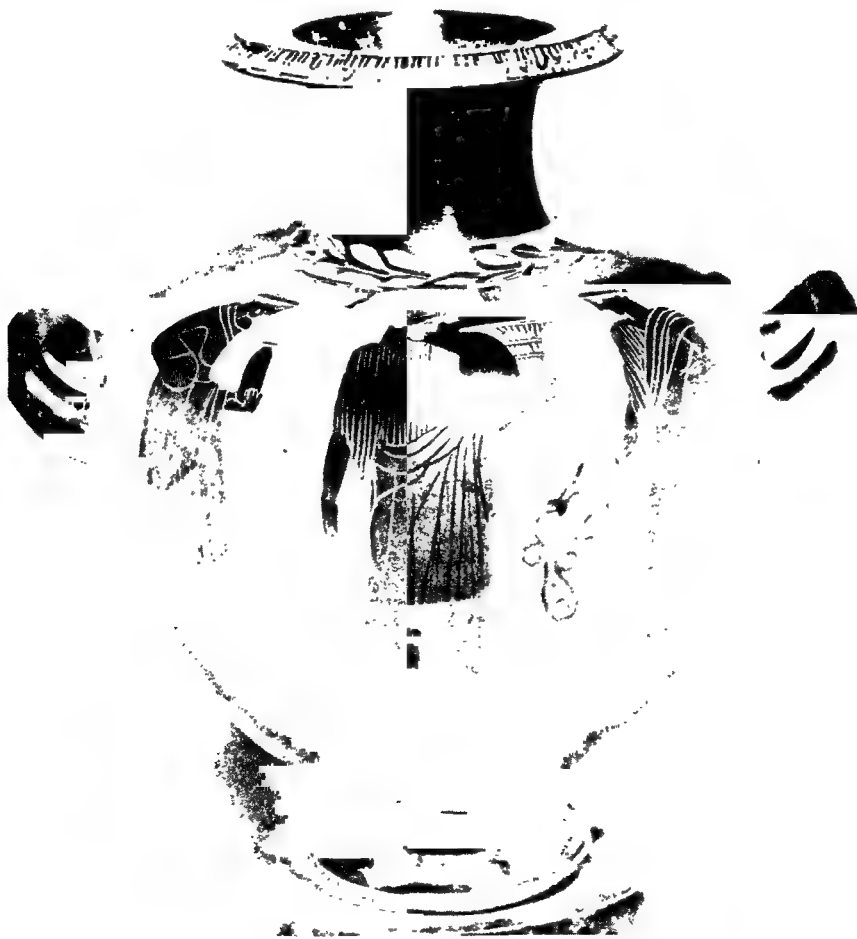


FIG. 10.—HYDRIA: THREE WOMEN.

of the contour are lined in with thin relief-lines. The pure beauty of the drawing shows the style of about 440 B.C. In this period was working the painter of the Epinetron from Eretria,³⁵ who executed our fragment also. We may compare our woman with a seated woman on the Epinetron in Athens 1629,³⁶ or with women on the pyxis in the British Museum, E 774.³⁷ Our fragment is a little later than the pyxis and earlier than the Epinetron: it must have been painted in the best time of the master's activity. Probably

³⁵ Furtw.-Reich., i. 290; Pfuhl, n. p. 870;
Beazley, *Att. Vas.*, p. 429.

³⁶ *Ephem.*, 1897, Pls. 9, 10; Pfuhl, Fig. 561.

³⁷ F.-R., Pl. 57, 3.

PL. VII. by the same hand is another fragment of the same shape with Eros (Inv. 4242; diam. 4.2 cm.). The thin relief-line executed with grace, the manner of the miniature-drawing is in the style of this artist. The details of the inner markings, painted in diluted glaze, are also in the manner of the Eretria painter. We may compare the curved line bordering the upper part of the stomach, the small arc on the elbow and the curved lines on the shoulder with those of Dionysos on a lekythos in Berlin 2471,³⁸ also by the Eretria painter (Beazley, No. 3). Our fragment looks somewhat earlier than the lekythos.

PL. VII. Finally, a third magnificent fragment found on the Taman peninsula (Inv. 103 pp)³⁹ with a nude woman washing her hair, is also a work by this excellent painter. The form of the fragment suggests that the vase was a squat oinochoe, probably of the same shape as the oinochoe in New York.⁴⁰ The subject is totally different; a nude figure of a woman offers few points of comparison with the clothed figures on the vases mentioned there. But the fine profile of the face with small mouth and firm chin, the form of the large eye, and the thin necklace, are characteristic. The hair on the temple drawn with very fine brown lines, the clear and expressive contour, and lastly the highly finished drawing—all is in accord with the manner of our artist.

There is a close resemblance between our fragment and the picture on a vase which was formerly in the Pourtalès Collection.⁴¹

PL. Vb, VII. To the last group of vases belongs a large lekythos also from the Botkin Collection (height 39 cm.), which was repainted and is now cleaned. A youth, dressed in a short thin chiton and armour, holds a helmet in his right hand. Before him stands a woman in peplos, holding in her right hand a spear and in her left hand a large shield, which is decorated with a laurel wreath. The same wreath is suspended between the two figures. On the shoulder of the vase are represented two women; one of them is sitting on a stool, the other standing with a mirror in her hand.

The drawing is rude, but pretentious. No relief-lines are used for the contour of the faces. The arms, hands, legs and feet are heavy and big. Though the young warrior is standing in a quiet attitude, the chiton is drawn as if blown up by the wind.

Our lekythos shows certain analogies in style with a crater in Palermo.⁴² The drawing of the forms is the same on both vases, especially the rendering of the faces, the drapery and the hair. The attitude of our woman offers a parallel to the attitude of Philomele. On the short chiton worn by the youth, the system of folds is like that of the chiton of the woman standing behind the Eros. There is a lekythos by the same hand in the Moscow Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 152; Apollo in mantle with laurel branch and phiale and Artemis clad in peplos with oinochoe and bow.

ANNA PEREDOLSKI.

The Hermitage.

³⁸ Furtw., *Samml. Sabouroff*, Pl. 55; Pfuhl, Fig. 560.

³⁹ *Compte Rendu*, 1873, Pl. 3, 6.

⁴⁰ *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, 4, p. 104, Fig. 8.

⁴¹ Panofka, *Cab. Pourtalès*, Pl. 29, 4; Stackelberg, *Gräber d. Hellenen*, Pl. 36, 4;

cf. Pfuhl, ii. 577. By the same painter is also a fourth fragment of a small cup with low foot, found in Kertch Inv. 103^o (*Compte Rendu*, 1869, Pl. 4, 19).

⁴² Furtw.-Reich., Pl. 52.

NOTES ON RULER-CULT, I-IV

I. ALEXANDER AND DIONYSUS¹

§ 1. A SAYING attributed to the Cynic Diogenes by Diogenes Laertius, VI. 63, ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρον Διόνυσον, κάμῃ, ἔφη, Σάραπιν ποιήσατε, though condemned as unhistorical by some scholars, has recently been quoted as evidence for the divine honours paid to Alexander during his life. It cannot, however, be genuine; Diogenes was not a contemporary of Alexander as world-conqueror, and Sarapis as a god who would be known in the Greek world at large is subsequent to king and Cynic alike.² Apart from this we frequently find in modern authorities the statement that, when Alexander sent his demand in 324 to the cities of Greece to be recognised as a god, Athens on the proposal of Demades voted that he should be honoured as Dionysus. This is not the case. Our authorities are Hyperides, *Contra Demosthenem*, xxxi. 10, p. 20 Blass, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀναβάλοιτο τὸ ἀναφῆναι ἢ βουλή, οὕτω φάσκουσα εὐρηκεῖναι, (sc. ὁ Δημοσθένης) τότε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ συγχωρῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι εἰ βούλοιτο; Dinarch., *Contra Demosthenem*, I. 94 (ὁ Δ.), τότε μὲν γράφων καὶ ἀπαγορεύων μηδένα νομίζειν ἄλλον θεὸν ἢ τοὺς παραδεδομένους, τότε δὲ λέγων ὡς οὐ δεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἀμφισβητεῖν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ τιμῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ; Timaeus, ap. Polyb. XII. 12b (Δημοσθένης καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ῥήτορες), ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμαῖς ταῖς ἰσοθέοις ἀντέλεγον; Aelian, *V.H.* V. 12, ἐκκλησίας οὐσης Ἀθηναίοις παρελθὼν ὁ Δημάδης ἐψηφίσαστο θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τρισκαίδέκατον; Gnomol. Vatic. 236, ed. Sternbach (*Wien. Stud.* X. 221), ὁ αὐτὸς (sc. Δημάδης), οὐ θελόντων Ἀθηναίων τιμᾶν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς θεόν,

¹ The substance of this paper was read to the Oxford Philological Society on November 13th, 1926. It has benefited from suggestions made then by the President, Mr. M. N. Tod, and by other members, as also from friendly hints from various scholars, in particular Prof. F. E. Adcock, Prof. W. M. Calder, Mr. E. S. G. Robinson, Prof. H. J. Rose, Mr. F. H. Sandbach, and Mr. W. W. Tarn. I must apologise for any deficiencies in knowledge of the modern literature of the subject; it is now immense.

² Pseudo-Callisthenes connects Alexander with the founding of the cult of Sarapis; this tradition is almost certainly apocryphal. On the Babylonian Σάραπης consulted by Alexander shortly before his death according to his *Journal* as followed by Arrian and Plutarch, cf. U. Wilcken, *Urkunden*

der Ptolemaerzeit, I. 79 ff. It must be a god whose name sounded like Σάραπης (perhaps the Sar apsi urged by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher, IV. 338 ff., and *Festschr. akad. Historikerclubs in Innsbruck*, 1923, 69 ff.), or, more probably, some god thought to correspond in functions, perhaps Marduk. The name is possibly due to Ptolemaic redaction of the *Journal* (Wilcken, *op. cit.*, 82; Kornemann, *Raccolta Lombroso*, 241 f.). In any case Sarapis is Egyptian.

We can hardly accept R. Pettazoni's defence of the story (*I misteri*, 173) as referring to a god of Sinope, later the famous Sarapis; would the jest have had any point in Athens? The Diogenes saying is accepted also by Ferguson, Beloch, Berve, Schnabel, and Herter.

δέδια, φησίν, <ὦ> ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μὴ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φθοροῦντες Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν γῆν ἀφαιρεθῆτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (= Val. Max. VII. ii. ext. 13, *videte, inquit, ne dum caelum custoditis terram amittatis*); Athenaeus, VI. p. 251 B (οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) Δημάδην δέκα ταλάντοισι ἐζημίωσαν ὅτι θεὸν εἰσηγήσατο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον; Plut. *Pol. Praec.* viii. p. 804 B (sneer of Pytheas at divine honours to A.); Vit. X. *Orat.* p. 842 D (adverse remark of Lycurgus).

What the envoys of Alexander demanded in each city we do not know.³ In Athens Demades, the spokesman of the Macedonian party, probably proposed that Alexander should be recognised as son of Zeus. So much may be inferred from the testimony of Hyperides. It is indeed dangerous to press a joke too far; the sons of Poseidon were proverbially bad and blustering, the sons of Zeus good,⁴ but the joke would have more point if sonship of Zeus had been seriously proposed. Timaeus refers to this recognition as *ισόθει τιμαί*, which shows that in the early part of the third century B.C. such a position was equivalent to godhead.⁵ Sonship of Zeus probably meant sonship of Zeus Ammon; its significance was no doubt purely political.⁶ Aelian's statement that Alexander was recognised as a thirteenth god may be explained as based on the well-known story that Philip's image was (like Julius Caesar's later) in his life borne in procession with the images of the twelve great gods; this form of deification had been revived for Hadrian and seems to have been living even in the fourth century A.D.⁷

§ 2. Did Alexander seem to himself or to his contemporaries to be in any close relation to Dionysus? Berve suggests that this is so, and the view has a number of adherents. 'With the march into India there naturally came into the front Dionysus, also (like Heracles) a god dear to the Macedonian people, and his traces were thought to be found in the city called Nysa: his expedition through Asia was now regarded as a forerunner of that of Alexander. The

³ In Sparta, that he should be recognised as a god (according to Aelian, *V.H.* II. 19).

⁴ Cf. Aul. Gell. XV. 21. Still, Demetrius was hailed at Athens as son of Poseidon; and the bull's horn on coins of his struck at Ephesus may refer to this sonship (E. T. Newell, *The Coinages of Demetrius Poliorcetes*, 72 f.).

⁵ Cf. later, Simon *ap. Clem. Homil.* XVI. 15, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι οὐδὲν τὸν ἀπὸ θεοῦ θεὸν εἶναι; The idea that Alexander was son of a god might be taken quite seriously in the city in which Speusippus claimed as much for Plato; cf. in general Usener, *Weihnachtsfest*², 71 ff.; Riewald, *Dissert. philol. Halens.* XX. 3, 271 ff. For *ισόθεος* cf. a Heidelberg papyrus catechism (F. Bilabel, *Philol.* LXXX. 339), τί θεός; τὸ κρατοῦν. τί βασιλεὺς; *ισόθεος*, and the deprecation by Germanicus in his famous edict of *ισοθέους ἐκφωνήσεις* (Wilamowitz-Zucker, *Sitzungsber. preuss. Ak.*, 1911, 819; Cichorius, *Römische Studien*, 376; Wilcken, *Hermes*. LXIII, 48 ff.).

⁶ W. W. Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VI. 418 ff.

⁷ For Philip cf. Diod. Sic. XVI. 92, who speaks of Philip as thus making himself *σύνθρονον τοῖς δάδεκα θεοῖς* (for *συνθ.* cf. its use of Antiochus of Commagene in Dittenb. *Or. gr. inscr. sel.* 383, and the description of Antinous as *σύνθρονον τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θεῶν* in inscriptions at Rome, *Inscr. gr. ad res Romanas pert.* I. 31, 32). For the 'thirteenth god' later cf. O. Weinreich, *Lykische Zwölfgötter-reliefs* (*Sitzungsber. Heidelb. Ak.* 1913, V.) and *Triskaidekadische Studien* (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XVI. i.); G. Wissowa, *Hermes* LII. 92 ff.

The memory of Alexander was a living thing under the Empire (cf. Beurlier, *De divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores eius*, 29 ff.), and the traditions about him naturally borrowed from the contemporary world (cf. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, II. 71 ff.).

riches of the Punjab gave a more suitable soil for the cult of the god of luxury than for that of the laborious Heracles, and when the real work of conquest was ended the picture of Dionysus going through Asia in triumph suited the position and intentions of Alexander better than did Heracles setting out to achievement. In this sense Alexander felt himself to be the god's successor; this is the meaning of the festal march in Carmania, and even if the Asiatic expedition of Dionysus was invented by the king's companions, this would show only the more strongly the power of a religious idea which inspired those who belonged to the camp.⁸

Berve illustrates the idea by the supposed deification of Alexander as a second Dionysus at Athens in 324/3, which we have seen reason to reject, and by the statement that Protogenes at about this time painted Alexander as Dionysus with Pan.

The last point is clearly unsound, *nouissime pinxit Alexandrum ac Pana*, says Pliny.⁹ Brunn's conjecture that, since Pan is commonly associated with Dionysus in his Indian expedition, Alexander may well have been represented in the part of Dionysus remains a conjecture, and *nouissime*, which dates the picture as subsequent to the siege of Rhodes in 306/5, implies a date nearer 300 rather than 324/3.¹⁰ That is to say, the picture was, according to the only testimony extant, painted after Alexander's death. Other texts relevant to the argument are Arrian, *Anab.* V. 1 ff. (Alexander hears of Nysa, a city founded by Dionysus in India, and a desire to see it seizes him: he beholds Mount Meros, connected with the story of the child god being sewn in the thigh of Zeus. The Macedonians are delighted with the sight of vines and ivy, which latter is not elsewhere found in India, and great sacrifices to Dionysus take place); Plut. *Alex.* 67 (during the passage through Carmania there were seven days of progress in *komos* fashion, with drinking and garlands and flutes and Bacchic revelry of women); statements of Plutarch and Strabo that Alexander imitated Dionysus and Heracles, and a remark of Arrian that Alexander crossed the Indus, previously crossed only by Dionysus.¹¹

The Carmanian incidents may be taken first. They are particularly instructive as showing how facts were distorted. Arrian tells us (*Anab.* VI. 28. 1), 'Some people have given an account, which I do not believe, how that Alexander, yoking two litters together and lying in them with his companions, proceeded through Carmania in them to the sound of flutes, while his army

⁸ *Das Alexanderrreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, I. 94; so think also Beloch and Ferguson. Since I quote Berve in this paper chiefly to express disagreement, I should like to say how indebted I feel to his book.

⁹ This could mean two pictures, one of Alexander, one of Pan; but cf. *N.H.* 35, 108, *Apollinem ac Dianam*.

¹⁰ A. Reinach, *Recueil Milliet*, 367; the error is Klein's.

¹¹ Cf. W. Baer, *Diss. phil. Hal.* XXII. i. 78 ff. for texts. E. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*,

XV. ff., rejects the idea that the helmeted and horned head on certain coins of Seleucus Nicator represents Alexander as Dionysus, probably rightly, in spite of Th. Schreiber, *Studien über das Bildniss Alexanders d. Gr.* (*Abh. sachs. Ges. Wiss.* XXI. iii. 1903), 168₁₇; the horns do not resemble in shape those sometimes given to Dionysus, but are an Eastern symbol of power (cf. the horned horse, probably Bucephalus, on early Seleucid coins). The head probably represents Seleucus himself.

followed wreathed and sporting, and food and all else that makes for luxury had been brought by the Carmanians and lay beside his path. All this, they say, was done by Alexander to imitate the revelry of Dionysus, because of Dionysus also it was told that after conquering the Indians he then traversed a great part of Asia and was called *Thriambos*, and that was why processions in honour of victories are called *thriamboi*. *These statements were not recorded by Ptolemy son of Lagus or by Aristobulus son of Aristobulus or by any trustworthy authority on such matters ; it has been sufficient for me to record them as incredible.* What I say, following Aristobulus, is that in Carmania Alexander offered sacrifice in thanksgiving for his victory over the Indians and on behalf of the army, for its deliverance from Gedrosia, and that he arranged a musical and gymnastic contest.' As Mr. Tarn remarks, 'a necessary holiday.'¹²

The finding of Nysa and of Mount Meros in the Hindu Kush is probably historical. Eratosthenes, as quoted by Arrian (V. 3. 1), after recounting the Nysa incident, expresses the opinion that 'all that is ascribed to the divine was exaggerated by the Macedonians to please Alexander,' and this is exemplified by the transference of the liberation of Prometheus by Heracles from the Caucasus to Paropamisadae and by the supposed wanderings of Dionysus. The story is then earlier than Eratosthenes.¹³ The kernel of the story is probably genuine; later developments are much more comprehensible if it had a real *point de départ*. A place with vines and ivy, and with a name which sounded something like *Nōsa*, was found: whether or not a local god who could be identified with Dionysus was discovered now or later we cannot say.¹⁴ Dionysus was known to come from the East: he was born at Nysa: why not here? ¹⁵ The story that Nysa was *founded* by him after his conquest of India, as Arrian relates (V. 1. 1), is in all probability later and the product of rationalistic speculation such as we shall consider afterwards; Nysa is originally the place where the god was reared.

In Arrian himself it is clear that the story of Alexander's visit was later enlarged. As he says, 'Some have recorded also, if anyone believes it, that many of Alexander's companions of repute wreathed themselves with ivy, and

¹² *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI. 416. Vines grew in Carmania (Megasthen. *ap.* Strab. XV. i. 58, p. 712); this may have contributed to the growth of the story.

¹³ This disbelief of Eratosthenes and 'most people' in the tales of Heracles and Dionysus in India is mentioned by Strabo, XV. i. 7, p. 687. J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*,³ I. 456, argues that the tale of the finding of Nysa comes from Aristobulus, not from the official tradition, basing this view on the fact that it does not fit into Arrian's continuous story.

¹⁴ Clitarchus, fr. 17 (in Jacoby, *Fragmente d. griech. Hist.* Vol. II.), speaks not, as our other sources, of ivy, but of a plant like it called *σκινδαφός*. Dr. H. Godwin kindly informs me that in fact ivy grows commonly at a height of 6000–10,000 feet

on the Himalayas.

That Siva was identified with Dionysus, Krishna with Heracles, has often been suggested; there are difficulties in the way of the first identification (B. Graef, *De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa*, 3. 8).

The gigantic snakes seen in India according to Onesicritus, fr. 16 Jacoby (quoted by Strabo, XV. i. 28), are not by him associated with Dionysus; the one gigantic snake called *Διονύσου ἀγαλμα* in Maximus Tyrius, II. 6, p. 24, ed. Hobein, is not mentioned in any other extant text. It illustrates the power of absorption which the Dionysus story possessed.

¹⁵ W. W. Tarn, *l.c.*, 405, has well remarked on the moral effect of this on the troops.

when they invoked Dionysus were possessed by him and invoked him with Bacchic cries.' ¹⁶

The Nysa incident is of much importance for the subsequent development of the story, a point to which I shall return. Yet in itself it did not involve an assimilation of Alexander to Dionysus. To us, accustomed to *deuictis Liber ab Indis*, the achievements of Alexander and Dionysus seem kindred, and in a sense Dionysus was early considered as a conqueror.¹⁷ Still, at this time Dionysus was a conqueror coming from the East, passing west from Bactria as we read in the *Bacchae* (India was not in the writer's mental field and is not mentioned): he was not a conqueror proceeding from the West to the East. Courtly circles *may* have called Alexander a second Dionysus; we cannot say. What we do find is Anaxarchus credited with the saying that it is more reasonable for the Macedonians to honour Alexander as a god than to do as much for Dionysus or Heracles, which is very different.¹⁸ But that Alexander felt himself to be Dionysus-like (even as much as he felt himself to be Perseus-like or Heracles-like or Achilles-like or possibly Zeus-like) is very doubtful. Ehippus, his contemporary and survivor, speaks of him as wearing the dress of Ammon, Artemis, Hermes, and Heracles on different occasions, but does not mention his mumming as Dionysus.¹⁹ Nearchus, again, speaks of his march through Gedrosia as intended to outdo Cyrus and Semiramis, not any divine rivals.²⁰

• Later, as we have seen, there is a *rapprochement*, but a circuitous *rapprochement*. First Dionysus is given some of the characteristics and achievements of Alexander, then Alexander is represented as following Dionysus. The statement that Alexander was a descendant of Dionysus seems to be the result of Ptolemaic genealogising. The Macedonian royal house, from which the Ptolemies claimed descent through Amyntas II, regarded itself as descending from Heracles through Hyllus.²¹ Deianira, his mother, was in the current myth daughter of Oeneus and Althaea; plausible as it is to suppose that Oeneus is an epithetal name for a wine-god, this original meaning, if such it

¹⁶ *Anab.* V. 2. 7.

¹⁷ *Bacch.* 302 ff.; *Cycl.* 5 ff. (he and Silenus fought against the giants). In Thrace and at Sparta he had attributes of a warlike kind (Farnell, *Cults*, V. 308 f.). This idea may have added piquancy to his cowardice in the *Frogs*.

¹⁸ Arrian, *Anab.* IV. 10. 5 (the ascription of the remark to Anaxarchus is probably 'tendencious'; cf. Berve, II. 34). A little later (presumably in 307) the Athenians voted that whenever Demetrius Poliorcetes arrived he should receive the hospitality accorded to Demeter and Dionysus (Plut. *Dem.* 12), both deities thought to visit or to have visited Attica. It may be remarked that Newell has shown that there is nothing clearly Dionysiac in the coins of Demetrius (*Coinages*, 72 f.).

¹⁹ Quoted by Athenaeus, XII. p. 537 E. Apelles, by giving him the thunderbolt as an attribute, in effect represented him as Zeus, as does also the Porus medallion (G. F. Hill, *British Museum Quarterly*, 1926, 36 f., Pl. XVIII b). The latter may well have been struck in his lifetime; Hill, however, prefers to date it as a little subsequent to Alexander's death.

²⁰ Fr. 3 Jacoby (Vol. II. 707), from Arrian, *Anab.* VI. 24.

²¹ Alexander no doubt attached importance to that descent, which must have been remembered: it may be suggested that the picture of Alexander which Julius Caesar found in the temple of Heracles at Gades was there because Alexander was a famous descendant of the hero (Suet. *Iul.* 7. 1; Dio Cass. XXXVII. 52. 2).

was, had faded, and Oeneus passes as a human being of heroic times. The Ptolemaic claim to descent 'from Heracles and Dionysus,' as Ptolemy III makes it, rests on the story told by Satyrus, writing probably under Ptolemy IV, that Deianira's father was Dionysus. This version, no doubt popularised by Alexandrine writers, made its way into the mythological handbooks.²²

Alexander, however, remained in cult *Ἀλέξανδρος* or (at least in the third century A.D.) *Ἀλέξανδρος θεός*; ²³ he was not a *νέος Διόνυσος*. The saying ascribed to Diogenes, from which we started, must be an anachronistic invention, and may have been fathered on Diogenes because he was a suitable spokesman for sharp sayings and came, moreover, from Sinope, the supposed original home of Sarapis.^{23a} At the same time, it may be a veiled sneer at a Ptolemy, perhaps Ptolemy IV, who posed as Dionysus.²⁴ The Ptolemies drew nearer to Dionysus, Sarapis was their celestial protégé, and—to give the saying more point—Dionysus and Sarapis were from the third century B.C. onwards identified in Egypt. It would be safer to say something about Alexander and the Athenians than to name Ptolemy and the Alexandrians.²⁵ This suggestion is not to be pressed: K. von Fritz has recently shown how frequent the motive of contrast is in the Diogenes-cycle; the Cynic, who enjoyed a sort of literary apotheosis, is matched against other types of greatness, the despiser of the world against its conqueror.²⁶ But even if the story is a Cynic invention, purely *ad maiorem gloriam Diogenis*, it may well have originated in Egypt; Diogenes-sayings were there familiar, to judge from their occurrence in *ostraka*.

§ 3. The date of the assimilation of Dionysus to Alexander can be deter-

²² Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.* 54. 8, cf. W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel*, II. 266; *F.H.G.* III. 164 fr. 21, cf. Perdrizet, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* XII. (1910) 217 ff. (It is possible that the connection of Dionysus and Althaea is earlier; cf. Eurip. *Cycl.* 38 f.) Descent from Heracles and Dionysus is ascribed to Alexander in Ps.-Callisth., I. 46a. Philadelphus may have valued this connexion, to judge from the fact that images of Alexander and of Ptolemy Soter were carried in one part of the Dionysus procession described by Callixen. *ap. Athenaeum*, V. p. 201 D (not, as will be observed, the part representing the Indian conquests of Dionysus). At the same time, Theocr. XVII. 16 ff. (as Wilamowitz remarked, *Textgeschichte der griech. Bukol.* 153₁) shows that descent from Heracles was the point then stressed. Arrian, quoted *supra* p. 24, remarks that Ptolemy I did not paint in Dionysiac colours Alexander's passage through Carmania.

²³ At Erythrae (Le Bas-Wadd. 57 *ἱερέα θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου*), at Bargylia (*ib.* 490 = *O.G.I.* 3 *θεὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἢ πόλιν ἀνευώσατο*); *θεὸν Ἀλέξανδρον* in a Ptolemaic text. *O.G.I.* 181. is thought an error by Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* III. 77. In general

Alexander is not called *θεός* in inscriptions relating to the eponymous priesthood for the good reason that his personal name is a divine name; the Ptolemies are mentioned by epithetal titles, *Ἀδελφοί*, etc., which need *θεοί* to complete the sense (Wilcken, *G.G.A.* 1895, 141₁).

^{23a} So Bouché-Leclercq, *Rev. hist. rel.* XLVI 232. The story of his speaking of the Parthenon as his *summer* residence, recorded in a diatribe of Teles, p. 8. 3 ed. Hense², is perhaps in contrast to the *winter* residence of Demetrius Poliorcetes there in 304/3.

²⁴ Perdrizet, *l.c.* 230.

²⁵ An interesting illustration of the identification of Dionysus and Sarapis is the Egyptian Petosarapis, who has the Greek name Dionysios (Diod. Sic. XXXI. 15a; he is of the first half of the second century B.C.).

²⁶ *Quellenunt. z. Leben u. Phil. d. Diogenes* (Philol. Suppl. XVIII. ii.), 27, 34; cf. Weinreich, *Neue Jahrb.*, 1926, 643. For this kind of later supposed contrast of two contemporaries or supposed contemporaries cf. the Homer-Hesiod, Solon-Croesus stories, also the tale in Malalas of how Augustus learns of Christ (W. Weber, *Festgabe Deissmann*, 36).

mined with some probability. The finding of Nysa had a great effect on the Greek imagination. Clitarchus, who wrote a history of Alexander which was panegyric in tendency and even in antiquity thought untrustworthy, spoke of a conquest of the Indians by Dionysus.²⁷ The parallel of Alexander and Dionysus was clearly in his mind; he is the source also of the Dionysiac elaborations of Alexander's march through Carmania.²⁸ When Clitarchus wrote is a matter of conjecture; Jacoby makes a strong case for the date *circa* 310-300 and for his priority to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, and to this view I incline, though not feeling competent to judge. That Clitarchus told of the triumph of Dionysus over the Indians and of the pillars marking the limits of his conquests is not certain but likely.²⁹ This is the version which substantially coloured later mythology. In its turn it produced the idea that Alexander was imitating Dionysus, and perhaps helped to spread the conception that Alexander aimed at world kingdom.³⁰ Megasthenes followed it but emphasised the peaceful nature of the conquest. It is perhaps Megasthenes who made Nysa a city founded by Dionysus rather than his birthplace: to found cities was a typical act of the culture-hero in Hellenistic theorising.³¹ One special point of assimilation may now be considered.

Dionysius Scytobrachion, in the mythological romance which he composed in the second century B.C., speaks of Dionysus as son of Ammon. This has

²⁷ Fr. 17 Jacoby (ii. 747, with his note, *Komm.* 492), from Schol. in Ap. Rhod. II. 906.

²⁸ This follows from the agreement of Diod. Sic. XVIII. 15. 1, Q. Curt. IX. 3. 19, and Justin. XII. 8. 16 (E. Schwartz, Pauly-Wissowa, IV. 1873 ff.; F. Jacoby, *ib.*, XI. 642).

²⁹ The triumph in Q. Curt. III. 12. 18 (*cum Liberi patris imitaretur triumphum*). It was represented in the great procession at Alexandria shortly before 270 (Callixen. ap. Athenaeum, 200 D ff.; dated in 274 by E. R. Bevan, *Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 127. Note later Macrobian *Sat.* I. 19. 4 *eum* (sc. *Liberum*) *primum ediderunt auctorem triumphum*).

The 'pillars of Dionysus' in Q. Curt. III. 10. 5, VII. 9. 15, IX. 4. 21; those of Alexander in both Diod. XVIII. 55. 2 and Q. Curt. VIII. 11. 2, therefore probably in Clitarchus (an interesting discussion of the pillars or altars of Dionysus and Heracles in Strabo, III. 5. 6, p. 171, after a remark on Alexander's imitation of them). The whole story is probably due to the Greeks having become acquainted with the Oriental monuments which record royal conquests (F. Jacoby, Pauly-Wissowa, VI. 963. 52 ff.).

³⁰ Against the ascription of this idea to Alexander cf. W. W. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, 1921, 1 ff. (G. Radet's able reply in *Notes critiques*

sur l'histoire d'Alexandre has still to face the difficulties raised by Tarn in *Cl. Rev.*, 1926, 68).

³¹ *Frug. Hist. Graec.* II. 404 ff., ed. Muller (from Diod. Sic. II. 38 ff.). Muller gives in fr. 21. p. 416 (from Arrian, *Ind.* 5), *καὶ πρὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Διονύσου μὲν περὶ πολλὸς λόγος κατέχει ὡς καὶ τοῦτου στρατεύσαντος ἐς Ἰνδοὺς καὶ καταστρεφάμενον Ἰνδοῦς, Ἡρακλέος δὲ περὶ οὐ πολλός*. A glance at the original will show that the quotation from Megasthenes, given in *ornatio obliqua*, has come to an end; these are Arrian's words. If Megasthenes is faithfully reproduced by Diodorus, *i.e.*, he spoke of the Indians as unable to offer resistance, and thought of Dionysus as culture-hero rather than as conqueror (Wendland, *Hellenistisch-römische Kultur*,² 121), and as having received worship as the reward of more than human achievement, an idea applied to Heracles by Isocrates (cf. A. Elter, *Donarum pateras*, II. i., Bonn Progr. 1907, for full illustration). On city-founding as a typical act of the superman cf. Fr. Pfister, *Reliquienkult im Altertum*, 295 ff.

Megasthenes visited India between 302 and 291; when he wrote we do not know. In support of the view that he wrote after Clitarchus cf. Ernst Meyer, *Klio*, N.F. III. 183 ff.; *contra* Tarn, *J.H.S.* 1923, 93 ff.

been regarded as a tradition independent of Alexander's expedition,³² or even as responsible for the tradition of the finding of Nysa.³³ L. Müller and others have argued at length for the existence of a younger god associated with Ammon at the Oasis and regarded by the Greeks as Dionysus.³⁴ The chief texts adduced point to another conclusion. Two subsidiary points may be dealt with first for convenience. Herodotus says that Zeus (and from a passage of Pliny we infer that he means Zeus Ammon) and Dionysus are worshipped at Meroe.³⁵ On the other hand, he does not speak of a joint cult: he is presumably mentioning the two great gods of the place, and Dionysus is, as Dr. Cook suggests, simply a name for Osiris and carries no further meaning. Secondly, a younger god with ram's horns appears on the coins of Cyrene as well as the older god who may be regarded as Zeus Ammon. Since, however, this younger god has no Dionysiac traits, and Apollon Karneios is to be expected on the coins of Cyrene, we may well prefer to regard this deity as Apollon Karneios, with Imhoof-Blumer, if we do not wish to take refuge in a *non liquet*.³⁶

The other texts adduced are Leon of Pella *ap. Hygin. Astron.* II. 20 (Dionysus gave a domain to Hammon over against Egyptian Thebes),³⁷ Hermipp. *ib.*³⁸ (when Dionysus attacked Africa he was overtaken by thirst. A ram led him and his army to a pool in the oasis and then vanished. In gratitude he set the ram in the sky and built on the spot a temple of Zeus Ammon), and variants of the Hermippean story in other texts, which may be of equal antiquity with that given by Hyginus, who is probably using Hermippus through an intermediary. According to Servius and Ampelius, 'when Liber was on his way to India and was leading his army through dry Libya . . .'; according to Lactantius Placidus, 'when Liber, coming from India, was detained in the furthest and desert part of Libya.'³⁹

What seems the natural inference is that Dionysus, identified with Osiris, must as an early king found temples,⁴⁰ and in particular the great temple of Ammon in the oasis, well known from of old to the Greeks. When he develops more clearly into a world conqueror, he comes to the temple or its site like Alexander as a warrior. From this, in view of the fact that the Greek Dionysus was in myth the son of the Greek Zeus, it was an easy step to make him son of

³² V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander und Agypten* (*Beih. zum 'Alten Orient'*, VII. 1926), 37.

³³ W. J. Woodhouse, *Enc. Relig. Eth.* IX. 428.

³⁴ *Numismatique de l'Afrique*, I. 101 ff., supported by A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I. 371 ff., with cogency and candour.

³⁵ II. 29.

³⁶ *Revue suisse de Numismatique*, 1917: his arguments are reinforced by E. S. G. Robinson, *B.M.C. Cyrenaica*, cexl. ff.

³⁷ Written shortly after Alexander's death if we accept Jacoby's plausible argument, *P.W.* VI. 961.

³⁸ H. was a pupil of Callimachus, and seems to have written in the latter part of the third century B.C. The same version

occurs in Nigid. *ap. Schol. in Caesaris Germanici, Arat.* p. 401. 6, in Eyssenhardt's edition of Martianus Capella. The story was no doubt told in the *Φανώμενα* of H. (C. Robert, *Eratosthenis catasterismorum reliquiae*, 222 f.).

³⁹ in Verg. *Aen.* IV. 196: *liber memorialis*, 2: Lact. Plac. in *Stat. Theb.* III. 476, cf. *Myth. Vat.* II. 80. A writer of the third century B.C., Phylarchus *ap. Plut. Is. et Os.* 29, p. 362 B, also speaks of Dionysus as coming to Egypt from India.

⁴⁰ Cf. F. Pfister, *Reliquienkult im Altertum*, 382. For a confusion of genealogies similar to that here discussed cf. W. R. Halliday on Zeus-Picus in *Cl. Rev.* 1922, 110 ff.

Ammon. Who first took it we cannot say. In Dionysius Scytobrachion he also consults the oracle like Alexander and receives from it the prophecy that by benefiting mankind he will attain immortality. Here the contact with the Alexander story is clear. Alexander's visit to the oracle was made on a natural impulse when he was in its neighbourhood; the impression which it made on posterity is attested by the developments of its record in history.⁴¹ If Dionysus was once assimilated to him, this particular incident could hardly fail to leave its impress.⁴²

In general it seems that this new treatment of the god was largely Ptolemaic. Leon of Pella, Hermippus, Dionysius Scytobrachion, and probably Clitarchus himself, wrote in Egypt.⁴³ The place of the triumph in the procession described by Callixenus suggests that definite Ptolemaic encouragement was given to the conception from the time of Philadelphus; it is instructive to note the almost complete absence of Dionysus from the coinage of those Greek rulers who succeeded to Alexander's conquests in the Far East, the Greek kings of Bactria.⁴⁴ In Egypt literature was in close contact with the Government. The story of the world-conquering Dionysus and his exploits in the Far East perhaps acquired new momentum from the victorious march of Ptolemy III. Certainly it passed into mythological handbooks and popular art; a striking

⁴¹ Cf. Tarn, *Camb. Anc. Hist.* VI. 377 f. V. Ehrenberg in his discussion (*op. cit.* 30 ff.) overestimates, I think, the immediate political significance of the act, but has done good service in emphasising Arrian's phrase *πόθος λαμβάνει αὐτόν*, and its frequent appearance in the tradition to denote Alexander's sudden impulses; Jacoby has remarked (*Gnomon*, 1926, 462) that the equivalent *πόθος εἶναι* is quoted by Arrian, *Ind.* 20. 1, from Alexander's subordinate Nearchus (in another context; more instances in Jacoby, *Fragm.* II., *Komm.* 452). It is easy to neglect the enthusiastic side of Alexander's character. E. R. Bevan has remarked that it would have been strange if Alexander had missed an opportunity of visiting the oracle, which enjoyed a high reputation in the Greek world, and that the motive assigned by Callisthenes *fr.* 14 Jacoby (ii. p. 645; from Strabo, XVII. 1. 43, p. 814), imitation of Perseus and Heracles, may be the true one.

⁴² It may be suggested that the bronze coins struck for Mithridates at Bosphorus with the head of Ammon (*B.M.C. Pontus*, 44. 9, Pl. ix. 4; Minns, *Scythians*, 617_a) were intended to herald Mithridates as an Alexander. But one would expect M. to strike a programme-coinage in silver or gold, not in bronze, and Ammon appears on later coins of Bosphorus with no special connotation (Minns 602₁).

⁴³ For Leon of Pella this is very probable; for Hermippus cf. Heibges, Pauly-Wissowa, VIII. 845 f.; for Dionysius cf. Suet. *De Gramm.* 7, who testifies to his being in Alexandria though a native of Mytilene. Clitarchus had a Ptolemaic tendency (Jacoby, Pauly-Wissowa, XI. 623), and is called *Ἀλεξανδρεὺς* by Philodemus (Jacoby, *Fragm.* II. p. 743. 3).

⁴⁴ Dionysus only on a nickel coin of Pantaleon (*B.M.C. Greek and Scythic Kings*, 9. 1, *sq.*, Pl. III. 8), and on an almost identical coin of Agathocles (*ib.* II. 6 *sq.*, Pl. IV. 8), both probably of the second century B.C., and with *rev.* panther. Heracles, on the other hand, is common enough (G. Macdonald, *C.H. India*, I. 443). The Seleucids (except Antiochus VI) do not appear to have been devoted to Dionysus as much as to Apollo of Daphne and to Zeus. He appears occasionally on their coinage. Bronze coins ascribed to Seleucus II with *obr.* hornless Dionysus *rev.* elephant (Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, 428, 45 f.) might appear to indicate the presence of the idea of D.'s conquest of India. This is, however, uncertain, since the elephant is a normal Seleucid type (Babelon, *op. cit.* XXVII ff.; from shortly before 306 in Babylon, Imhoof-Blumer, *Num. Zeit.* XXVII. 9). Whether the legend of Dionysus developed at all in Seleucid circles we cannot say.

example of the latter is the painting in the house of M. Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii, in which the representation of the triumphant Dionysus is strongly suggestive of Alexander.⁴⁵

Various causes would contribute to its diffusion, as, for instance, the growth of the importance and popularity of Dionysus,⁴⁶ and increased interest in India from closer commercial relationships. But it is likely enough that the *milieu* in which it grew chiefly was Egypt, where Alexander had left so strong an impression on Greek and Egyptian alike, and where so much of his legend and of his iconography took shape.⁴⁷

We have remarked the absence of evidence for any contemporary idea of Alexander's conquests as an imitation of those of Dionysus. If we look at the last century of the history of the Roman Republic, we find that Marius and Pompey are both spoken of as imitating the god's triumphs.⁴⁸ The idea of Dionysus as a typical conqueror took shape soon after Alexander's death and struck firm roots in the soil.

II. NEOS DIONYSOS

§ 1. We may pass to another question. What is the meaning of these identifications of man and god? Can we, with Wilamowitz, distinguish between

⁴⁵ Cf. E. Schwartz, *Pauly-Wissowa*, V. 671. 42 ff., 674. 56 ff., on the agreement of Dionysius Scytobrachion, the source used by Diod. Sic. I. 17-20, and [Apollodor.] *Bibliotheca*. On the general diffusion of the story cf. Christ-Schmid, *Gesch. griech. Lit.*⁶ II. 967; the painting is reproduced in H. Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*, III. 37.

⁴⁶ Cf. G. Quandt, *De Barcho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* (*Diss. phil. Hal.* XXI. 2, 1913); a striking illustration of

Dionysus and Heracles continue to be closely associated; so, for instance, as founders of Nicaea (Quandt, 117).

⁴⁷ On the Nectanebus story as possibly legitimising Alexander's rule in Egypt, cf. R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 310; W. Weber, *Ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, I. 112 (for the implied connexion of the Ptolemies with the last independent rulers of Egypt cf. W. Schur, *Klio*, XX. 270 ff.). For the determination of the date at which what must be the earlier legend of Alexander's physical divine sonship took shape it is important to note that it produced the story that Scipio Africanus was conceived by the union of a snake with his mother; that is told by Livy, 26. 19. 7, as a story current in Scipio's lifetime (cf. Elter, *Donarem pateras*, II. i. 40, 17).

On the development of the iconography of Alexander in Egypt cf. P. Perdrizet, *Terres cuites de la collection Fouquet*, I, 104.

⁴⁸ Cf. Plin. *N.H.* VII. 95: *Pompei Magni titulos omnis triumphosque . . . aequato non modo Alexandri Magni rerum fulgore, sed etiam Herculis prope ac Liberi patris; XXXIII. 150, C. Marius post victoriam Cimbricam cantharis potasse Liberi patris exemplo traditur*. A connection of Julius Caesar with Dionysus is indicated by Serv. in Verg. *Ecl.* V. 29; that of Antony is peculiar and is discussed, p. 33, n. 61, later.



FIG. 1.—HELIOS WITH IVY-WREATH.

D.'s popularity is afforded by Rhodian coins of 43 B.C. and later, on which Helios is given his ivy-wreath (*B.M.C. Caria*, 263 ff., Pl. XLII. 3, text fig. 1).

Ἀφροδίται and the like, human beings held to operate within the sphere of Aphrodite's activities, and later νέοι Διόνυσοι, incarnations of gods? ⁴⁹

When one comes to inquire into the meaning of language of this sort, one finds it vague and susceptible of different meanings to different people who used it. From Homeric times onwards the Greeks regarded certain individuals as more than human, as θεοὶ with more or less qualification. ⁵⁰ Such an individual might be called a god, either unreservedly or with reference to yourself, a god to you. ⁵¹ If you recognised in him the essential characteristics of a particular god, you might call him that god, again either unreservedly or with reference to yourself. ⁵² To the ancients the line of demarcation between god and man was not as constant and sharp, or the interval as wide, as we naturally think. πάντα θεῶν μεστά; the gods ranged from Zeus to οἱ παρὰ μικρὸν καλούμενοι θεοί. θεός does not necessarily imply more than a being possessed of greater power than humanity has and immune from death. An Alexander fits this as well as a Dionysus; an Epicurus fits it too. This tendency in ancient thought meets opposition. The Delphic γνώθι σεαυτὸν meant 'know yourself as a man and not a god,' and Pindar and the tragedians repeat the lesson. ⁵³ This is the normal tone of Greek moralising, and it is reinforced by stories of the evil fate of those who rivalled the gods in music or other arts, or claimed

⁴⁹ *Hellenistische Dichtung*, I. 74. The point of view maintained in this paper is in effect assumed by P. Riewald in his excellent tract *De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et compuratione et aequatione* (*Diss. phil. Hal.* XX. 3, 1912); but it has seemed to me worth while to define it a little more sharply.

⁵⁰ Cf. O. Weinreich, *Neue Jahrb.*, 1926, 633 ff. Merit and strength and conquest and civilising activities were titles to this; so was beauty (cf. *Journ. Eg. Arch.* XI. 136₁; Charax fr. 13 Jacoby, Vol. II. p. 486, says of Io, θεὸς ἐνομήσθη διὰ τὸ κάλλος; *Expositio totius mundi*, 44, speciositas esse et candidas nimis ut uisae deae easse putentur; Diog. Laert. X. 5, πρὸς δὲ Πυθοκλέα ὡραίον ὄντα, καθεδοῦμαι, φησί (sc. ὁ Ἐπίκουρος) προσδοκῶν τὴν ἱμερτήν καὶ ἰσοθέον σου εἴσοδον).

Divinity is a prize; cf. Dessau, *Inscr. lat. sel.* 7518, cuius spiritus inter deos receptus est; sic enim meruit (an epitaph at Rome). This helps to explain ἀρπαγμόν in *Ep. ad Philipp.* II. 5; cf. my note thereon in *Essays on the Trinity and the Incarnation*, ed. A. E. J. Rawlinson, 99.

⁵¹ Verg. *Buc.* I. 7, namque erit ille mihi semper deus; Ter. *Ad.* 535, facio te apud illum deum; Caecil. *Com.* 264, homo homini deus est si suum officium sciuit; *Epist. ad Diogn.* X. 6, ἀλλ' ὅστις τὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἀναδέχεται βάρος, ὃς ἐν ᾧ κρείσσων ἐστὶν ἔσπερον τὸν

ἐλαττούμενον εὐεργετῆν ἐθέλει, ὃς ἂ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν ἔχει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐπιδομένοις χορηγῶν θεὸς γίνεται τῶν λαμβανόντων, οὗτος μιμητὴς ἐστὶ θεοῦ (important as showing how commonplace this mode of expression was at the end of the second century A.D.); also a kindred usage in Cicero: *Cum senatui gratias egit*, 8; *P. Lentulus, parens ac deus nostrae uitae*; *Post reditum ad Quirites*, 11; *P. Lentulus consul, parens, deus, salus nostrae uitae*; *Pro Sestio*, 144. *P. Lentulum, cuius ego patrem deum ac parentem statuo fortunae ac nominis mei*; Plato is called *deus quidam philosophorum* (*N.D.* II. 12. 32) or *deus ille noster* (*ad Att.* IV. 16. 3; and cf. an inscription at Wisa in Thrace, *B.S.A.*, XII. 177, No. 2 (= *Jahresh.* XXIII. *Bibl.* 119), βασιλέα Κό[τυ]ν βασιλέως Ῥησκουπόρεως [νίου] Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πρώτως κατακληθέντες εἰς [ἀρ?] χὴν τὸν ἑατῶν θεόν; another at Philae (*Or. gr. inscr. sel.* 195; dated 33 B.C.), Ἀντώνιον μέγαν κάμμητον Ἀφροδίσιος παράσιτος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεὸν καὶ εὐεργέτην.

⁵² [Eur.] *Rhes.* 355, σὺ μοι Ζεὺς ὁ φαναῖος; Plaut. *Persu.* 99, o mi Iuppiter terrestris. Menecrates Zeus (known also from Ephippus and Hegesander ap. Athenaeus, VII. p. 289 B-D, etc.) is said by Clem. Alex. *Protr.* IV. 54, p. 42, Stahelin, to have deified himself; so also Aristus (as Helios), Nicagoras (as Hermes).

⁵³ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Reden und Vorträge*, II. 171 ff.

worship.⁵⁴ But in spite of it the other strand remains in Greece; it found sustenance in various forms of popular mysticism and acquired new life under the vivid impression made by the great personalities of the fourth century B.C.

It is not easy to draw a definite line between comparison and identification. Certain coins of Cos represent Heracles with the features of Maussollus, others Demeter with the features of his consort Artemisia. (Fig. 2.) On the face of it this implies identification. Yet in fact the Heracles coins form part of a series in which Heracles is represented with traditional features.⁵⁵ They are, I suggest, to be compared with the Pindaric habit of drawing parallels such as Zeus-Heracles-Theron (*Ol.* II), or again of Zeus defeating Typhon and Hieron defeating the Etruscans and their Carthaginian allies (*Pyth.* I). Heracles is at Cos the heavenly counterpart of Maussollus, and this was suggested by the coin-type. So Martial says, X. 101. 1, *simili uenerandus in Hercule Caesar*. Comparisons were most natural; we find them used of Roman emperors who did not make the pretensions of Caligula. Thus the younger Pliny writes in



FIG. 2.—COINS OF COS.



FIG. 3.—COIN OF OLBA.

his *Panegyric on Trajan* 88. 8, *ideoque ille parens hominum deorumque optimi prius deinde maximi nomine colitur; quo praeclarius laus tua, quem non minus*

⁵⁴ Cf. my *Sallustius*, lxxxix. n. 210; liv. n. 71; the Ceyx story, etc.

⁵⁵ J. Six, *Röm. Myth.* XIV. (1899), 81 ff., anticipating, as Dr. G. F. Hill kindly informs me, his recognition of the fact in *Anatolian Studies*, 207 ff. For the series cf. *B.M.C. Caria*, Pl. XXX. 6-8; Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. CXLVIII. 14-21. A list of similar Greek numismatic representations of deities with the features of kings and queens is given by Gruppe, *Griech. Myth. u. Rel.*, 1506; for queens cf. U. Kahrstedt, *Klio*, X. 314; I figure above (Fig. 3) one addendum, Ajax high-priest of Olba as Hermes (*B.M.C. Cilicia*, 120, 4. Pl. XXI. 10; cf. 119, 2. Pl. XXI. 8; beginning of our era), but feel that a list of other references would serve little purpose unless accompanied by a minute study of the detail of individualisation that is, I think, to be desired. For Roman instances see H. Mattingly, *J.R.S.* XIII. 105 ff.

In many cases there can be little thought

of identification, as when the features of Demetrius are given to Pallas (C. T. Seltman, *Num. Chron.* 1909, 267, Pl. XX. 3), or those of Ptolemy to Athena (on a Cypriote gold Alexander stater, *Cat. Naville*, V. Pl. XLII. No. 1395 = Newell, *Coinages of Demetrius*, Pl. I. 2; to this portraiture Mr. Robinson kindly drew my attention). The story mentioned, p. 25, *supra*, of Alexander dressing as Artemis, is of uncertain value; H. von Gärtringen, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II. 187. 12, explains it as arising from the Persian dress of Alexander.

The assimilation of the features of mythological personages to the deceased on sarcophagi and in sepulchral paintings does not mean more than do the mythological similes frequent in epitaphs (cf. E. Maass, *Orpheus*, 241 f., and my forthcoming review of P. Styger's *Altchristliche Grabeskunst* in *J.R.S.*; for similes of this type in the Greek novel cf. K. Kerényi, *Griechisch-orientalistische Romanliteratur*, 100).

constat optimum esse quam maximum. This comparison passes into something like identification in a relief on the Arch of Beneventum, ascribed to the early years of Hadrian; here Jupiter is represented as handing his thunderbolt to Trajan.⁵⁶ How easy the transition was appears in an inscription from Tibur: ⁵⁷

*Antinoo et Beleno par aetas formaque si par
Cur non Antinous sit quoque qui Belenus?*

This conception hardens from the simile of the subject into the terminology of the ruler, Antiochos Apollon Soter (posthumous), Antiochos Dionysos Soter (in life) and the like. The identification of Arsinoë with a whole series of goddesses is reflected in the nomenclature of the streets of Alexandria in the third century B.C.⁵⁸ Such identification was easy when the god in question was thought to be the ancestor of the line, as Apollo was of the Seleucid dynasty.⁵⁹

§ 2. *Neos Dionysos* as an official title can no doubt imply formal belief in the monarch's being Dionysus incarnate. The only known instance is, in fact, Ptolemy XIII, who used it, though not apparently from the beginning of his reign.⁶⁰ In view of the Egyptianising tendencies of the late Ptolemies we should perhaps recognise here the Pharaonic conception of the monarch as a reincarnation of Osiris. It is now clear that Antony and Cleopatra, in posing as Dionysus-Osiris and Isis-Aphrodite, were assuming an attitude deliberately for political ends and pressed these claims to divinity: they were not merely accepting the homage that offered itself. It is further not unlikely that Cleopatra played her part in earnest; her mode of death has been explained by Spiegelberg as chosen from religious considerations.⁶¹ Moreover, it follows

⁵⁶ Von Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, 29. The normal relationship in the Emperor's life is that illustrated by the coins, which show a gigantic Jupiter holding a protecting hand over the diminutive Emperor (H. Mattingly, F. Salisbury, *J.R.S.* XIV. 10 f.); more exaggerated homage is to be found in the Greek East. Cf. Weinreich, *Lyk. Zwölf-götterreliefs*, 8 f. (Hadrianos-Zeus in the centre of the gods on the gable of a temple at Cyzicus).

⁵⁷ *Carmina latina epigraphica*, 879 (Buecheler). Again, compare the coin of Dioshieron in Lydia published by Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen*, 63, Pl. III. 9, showing Zeus and Nero facing, with contemporary identification of the two (*Cl. Rev.* 1926, 18).

⁵⁸ H. I. Bell, *Journ. Eg. Arch.* XII. 247. G. Glotz, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* XXXIII. (1920), 173, thinks that Arsinoë associated her name with the festival of Adonis by way of preparing for her apotheosis as Arsinoë Aphrodite. We may doubt if popular susceptibility called for this precaution.

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⁵⁹ Stähelin, Pauly-Wissowa, II. A, 1232. Cf. the appearance of Mithridates as his ancestor Perseus on coins of Amisus (Imhoof-Blumer, *Griechische Münzen*, 38 [= 562], Pl. III. 4, IV. 12), and possibly in a marble head, *Collection Wurocqué*, 151, No. 263 (discussed by Cumont, *Rev. Arch.*, 1905, i. 180 ff.).

⁶⁰ E. R. Bevan, *Egypt under the Ptolemies*, p. 344. *νέα Τύχη* of Antiochus I of Commagene is a special case: it is probably the Greek equivalent of Iranian belief in the king's *Hvarenō* (Cumont, *Textes et monuments*, I. 285). The texts cited by von Prott, *Ath. Mitth.*, XXVI. 164 ff. do not bear out the view (accepted *J.H.S.* XLV. 94₈₁) that the Attalids were *νέοι Διόνυσοι*.

⁶¹ H. Jeanmaire, *Rev. Arch.* 1924, XIX. 241-61; cf. J. G. Mulne's discovery of a caricature of the divine pair (*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, I. 99, Pl. XIV.) and H. J. Rose's of religious counter-propaganda by Augustus (the tales in Plut. *Ant.* 33 and 75; in the latter Dionysus *ὃ μάλιστα συνεφομοίων καὶ συνοικεῶν αὐτὸν διετέλεσεν* is thought

from Horace, *Odes* I. 2, that the idea that a ruler was a god who had for a time descended to earth and taken human shape was not foreign to the world of the time; Augustus might be Mercury, sent down as ἄγγελος τοῦ Διός to do his father's work.⁶²

But it should be observed that the νέος-terminology, except in the one Ptolemaic case mentioned, comes from subjects, as a variant form of homage. It alternates with the plain divine title. This is so for Mithridates,⁶³ for Mark Antony,⁶⁴ and for Nero⁶⁵ and for Antinous.⁶⁶ Moreover, a man may be called now 'descendant of Dionysus,' now 'new Dionysus,' as, for instance, Hadrian, who is also both 'Zeus' and probably 'new Zeus';⁶⁷ he may be νέος ἥλιος, νέος ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ν (probably = νέος) Κάβειρος, Ἀπόλλων κτίστης, and Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος (so Nero),⁶⁸ or again νέος Ἑρμῶν and νέος Πύθιος (so Antinous, who is also Dionysus),⁶⁹ or νέος Ἀσκληπιός, νέος Πύθιος, Ζεὺς Σωτήρ Ὀλύμπιος (or Πανελλήνιος) and νέος Ζεὺς as well as Dionysus (so Hadrian).⁷⁰

to leave Antony: *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* XI. 25-30).

Cleopatra had played her divine part before meeting Antony; when she bore Caesarion she struck coins representing herself as Isis with the child Eros (Stähelin, Pauly-Wissowa, XI. 754. 41 ff.). For her death cf. Spiegelberg, *Sitzungsber. bay. Akad.* 1925, II.

⁶² Augustus is associated with Mercury on Cos also; but on their supposed association in cult in Italy see now K. Scott, *Hermes*, LXIII. 15-33.

I note the parallel conception of the Cynic as an ἄγγελος of God, discussed by G. Breithaupt, *Hermes*, LXII. 253 f.; to the general question I hope to return elsewhere.

⁶³ ν. Δ. Posidon *ap. Athen.* VI. p. 212 D (fr. 36, II. 244. 28, Jacoby = fr. 41, III. 266, Muller). Δ. in *O.G.I.* 370 (Delos), and Cic. *Pro Flacco*. 60 (*illum Euhum Nysium Bacchum Liberum nominabant*); cf. p. 33 n. 59 *supra*, and possible representations of him as Heracles (A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, 122).

⁶⁴ ν. Δ. Eustath. in *Il.* IX. 558, p. 686, Bas. = p. 776. 30 Rom.; Vell. Pat. II. 82. Δ. in Socrates Rhod. *ap. Athen.*, p. 148 D, fr. 1, *F.H.G.* III. 326. Also 'descendant of Heracles' (Preller, *Röm. Myth.* II. 299).

⁶⁵ NEO. ΑΓΑΘΟ. ΔΑΙΜ. on coins of Alexandria; δ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης in papyri and inscriptions (P. *Oxy.* 1021. 8; *O.G.I.* 666. 2; J. Vogt, *Alexandrinische Münzen*, I. 28 f.; cf. F. Bilabel in *Cimbria*, 63 f.).

⁶⁶ NEOΣ ΙΑΚΧΟΣ at Tarsus (*B.M.C. Lycania*, etc., 189. n. 159); ΙΑΚΧΟΣ at Adramyteum (*B.M.C. Mysia*, 4, n. 13).

Note that in Lucian, *Alex.* 39, δ Ἐνδυμίων Ἀλέξανδρος is used of Alexander playing the part of Endymion; δ νέος Ἐνδυμίων might well have been expected. Again, in a fragment, possibly of Alciphron (ed. Schepers, p. 157. 10), *ap. Etym. Mag.* p. 438. 16, δ ἐκ Τροϊζήνος Ἰππόλυτος is used in the sense of δ νέος Ἰππόλυτος.

⁶⁷ ἀπὸ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους at Nicaea (von Prott, *Ath. Mitt.* XXVII. 265; W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 129): νέος Διόνυσος at Aphrodisias in Caria (Le Bas-Wadd. 1619, an inscription of the actors' guild; so in another at Angora, W. H. Buckler, *J.H.S.*, XLIV. 158); Zeus, cf. n. 60; ΝΕΩΝΙ on a coin of Abdera (*Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*, II. i. 119; the reading is not certain).

Julia Domna is νέα Ἥρα, *Virgo Caelestis*, Selene, Artemis, *Fortuna Felix*, as well as sharing Athena's temple at Athens (H. von Premerstein, *Jahreshefte*, XVI. 261 f.), but her case is less striking as coming from the period of fully developed syncretism.

⁶⁸ Cf. Nos. 57, 65 *supra*; for Ἀ. κτίστης, a coin of Apollonia (*B.M.C. Thessaly*, 62, No. 84 f., Pl. XIII. 4). Nero is represented as Mercury on a bronze found in Gaul, *Cat. Warocqué*, 136, No. 238.

⁶⁹ Ν. Ἐ. at Rome (*Inscr. Gr. ad res Rom.*, I. 55); ν. Π. at Tarsus (*B.M.C. Lycania*, etc. lxxxix, 189, No. 159); Dionysus or Iakchos commonly on coins (Mehlis, *Phil. Woch.*, 1926, 1375 f.); ἥρως προπύλαιος on Delphic coins (L. Blum, *B.C.H.* XXXVII. 323 ff.); in sculpture also as Apollo, Aristaeus, Vertumnus, Agathodaimon, and Osiris (Wernicke, Pauly-Wissowa, I. 2441).

We have just noted the idea that Augustus was a reincarnation of Mercury; he was described also as *Βουλαῖος*, which probably implies identification with Zeus.⁷¹ There is not, therefore, in general a definite popular belief that a particular ruler is in a strict sense the reincarnation of a particular deity.

§ 3. This titulature is essentially vague. It remains to consider some reasons for its application and diffusion. *νέος* means 'young' and also 'new'; in Hellenistic Greek it approximates in meaning to *καινός*.⁷² *νέος* coupled with a proper name can therefore be applied to anyone who seems to reproduce the characteristics of the earlier person. *καινός*, *ἔτερος*, *ἄλλος*, *δεύτερος*, *ὀπλότερος* are all used in the same way, much as in English one finds 'the young Tillotson' and similar phrases. A good collection of examples has been made by Headlam and Knox in their note on Herodas IV. 57; a few *addenda* are noted below.⁷³ *νέος* can, for instance, be equivalent to the *minor* of school language; in hagiographical Greek *νεόμαρτυρ* denotes the later of two martyrs of the same name, just as *Neos Philopator* denotes Ptolemy IX in distinction from Ptolemy IV, and the younger Faustina is on coins called *Φαναστεῖνα νέα*.⁷⁴

νέος, then, conjoined with the name of a god, describes a man as reproducing his qualities or achievements, just as Julius Caesar or Augustus might be called

⁷⁰ *ν. Ἀσκ.* I.G.R. IV. 341 (Pergamon); *ν. Πυθ.*, W. Weber, *Untersuchungen*, 180 (Megara); *ν. Διον.*, n. 67 *supra*. At Larisa in the Caystros valley he is honoured jointly with Zeus Soter Olympios (J. Keil, *Anatolian Studies*, 247).

⁷¹ On Pergamene coins (*B.M.C. Mysia*, 138, Nos. 238-241).

⁷² Cf. Moulton-Milligan, *Vocabulary of the N.T.*, 314. O. Weinreich, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XVIII. 23, has noted the extension of the *νέος*-terminology to private persons; I have given two more examples, *J.H.S.*, XLV. 94₈₄, and there is one in Ch. Picard, *Xenia* (Athens, 1912), 72, a hierophant on Thasos called *νέος Βάκχιος*.

⁷³ *νέος*, Heliodor. *Arth.* I. 10, *ὁ νέος Ἰππόλυτος* of a chaste stepson. Alexander is *νέος Ἡρακλῆς*, *νέος Σεσόγλωσις κοσμοκράτωρ*, and *Λαρείος νέος* in Ps.-Callisth. *Hist.* pp. 16. 30, 37. 25, 97. 14, ed. W. Kroll. The magician Cyprian greeted by the devil as being *νέος Ἰαμβρῆς*, *Confessio*, p. 1114 A, Baluzius. Cf. also the naming of cities, *Νέα Καρχηδών*, *Νέος Ἀγχιόλος*.

ἄλλος. Photius, *Bibl.* 82, p. 64a, 18 f. Bekker, calls Dexippus *ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις ἄλλος μετὰ τινος σαφηνείας Θουκυδίδης*. St. Nicholas is described by Nicetas as *ἄλλος τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς σωτὴρ ἀντίλλαγμα πιστευόμενος Χριστοῦ* (G. Anrich, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος*, II. 497) *δεύτερος*. St. Basil, *De spiritu sancto*, XXIX. § 76 (xxxii. 206 C, Migne), says of St. Gre-

gorius Thaumaturgus, *ὅς τῃ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ χαρισμάτων τῶν ἐνεργουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει καὶ σημείοις καὶ τέρασι δεύτερος Μωυσῆς παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀνηγορεύετο* (cf. St. Greg. Nyss. *De Vita G.T.* xlv. 908c, Migne: and the artistic representation of St. Peter as a second Moses, discussed by P. Styger, *Altchristliche Gräberkunst*).

Latin uses *novus*, *alter*, *alius* in this sense (as Livy 21. 10, Hannibal is *Mars alter*; Apoll. Sid. *Ep.* V. 5. 3, *novus Burgundinus Solon in legibus disserendis*; Ov. *Her.* 21. 124, *Hippomenes . . . alter*), or such a specialising epithet as *noster* (Apoll. Sid. *Ep.* VII. 12. 8, *noster Hippolytus*). *ille* can likewise be so used (Apul. *Met.* III. 29, *Iuppiter ille* is used of the Emperor; so D. S. Robertson, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.*, 1926, 22). In Latin we often find a genitive so used, as in Sen. *Apoc.* 13. 1 Mercury is *Talithybius deorum*. Cf. E. Fränkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, 9 ff. for the Roman taste for description or designation by analogy.

Cf. also such phrases as Aristotle. *Nub.* 830, *Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος* (of Diagoras), *Au.* 1009, *ἄνθρωπος Θαλῆς*; Lucian. *Alex.* 45, *ἡ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐναγείς ἔσεσθαι καὶ Ἐπικούρους κληθήσεσθαι*; Epictet. III. 1. 14, *οὐκ ᾔσέτο με Πολέμωνα ἔσεσθαι*.

⁷⁴ Steph. *Thes.* V. 1437; cf. H. Delahaye, *Mélanges Schlumberger*, 205; Munsterberg, *Num. Zeit.*, LIX. 21.

a second Romulus,⁷⁵ Hadrian an Augustus come to life again,⁷⁶ or Propertius a Roman Callimachus.

§ 4. The use of the same divine name in different cities implied a theoretic unity of personality, but this unity was not always very real. In practice the Artemis of Ephesus ranks as one deity, the Artemis of Brauron as another. It was not difficult therefore for a thinker like Herodotus to reconcile Greek and Egyptian traditions by supposing that there had been two persons of the name of Heracles. Later speculation carried this further and postulated commonly five men called Dionysus, and six called Heracles; the industrious Varro raised the number to forty-three, thinking that *omnes qui fecerant fortiter Hercules uocabantur*.⁷⁷ We are here in the world of learned speculation; but it is clear that the man in the street would not feel that, *the* Dionysus being in heaven, another Dionysus would do any harm. At Pergamon Athena Νικηφόρος and Julia Livilla, νέα Νικηφόρος, enthroned with her (σύνθρονος), share a priestess.⁷⁸ Worthy men of various kinds, Cynics, Stoics and Emperors, seemed clearly followers of Heracles. So Commodus is the *Roman* Hercules; Domitian, in the poem of Martial quoted earlier, is *Alcides maior* in contrast with the *minor* of mythology.

Moreover, νέος implied youth and freshness. Isis was invoked in Pieria as ώραία, 'in youthful beauty,' on Patmos as νέα, according to the Oxyrhynchus litany; the Νεωτέρα worshipped at Oxyrhynchus was very likely Isis, identified with Aphrodite, though there may be an element of the earlier Isis-Cleopatra, a divinity certainly worshipped after Cleopatra's earthly death.⁷⁹ νέος sometimes describes the position of a new ruler who has succeeded an old. In Aeschylus, *P.V.* 96, Zeus is νέος ταγὸς μακάρων; in Aristophanes, *Plut.* 960, we read τοῦ νέου τούτου θεοῦ of Plutus, who has entered upon his kingdom.⁸⁰ So we understand a dedication at Erythrae, δαίμονι φιλανθρώπων νέω Ἀσκληπιῶ ἐπιφανεῖ μεγίστῳ. The spirit gratefully honoured is as it were the effective regent: Asklepios is far away, here is the manifest present Asklepios, felt to

⁷⁵ K. Scott, *Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.*, LVI. 82 ff.; Verus is νέος Ἐρυθρός as restoring the prosperity of Erythrae (A. Rzach, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II. A 2035).

⁷⁶ So H. Mattingly. E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, II. 335, interprets a coin of his (*ib.* 404, No. 532, Pl. XIV. 303) with *rev.* HADRIANVS AVG. P.P. REN, taking REN to be *renatus*.

⁷⁷ J. B. Mayor's edition of Cic. *De natura deorum*, III. p. 202 f.; Varro *ap. Serv.* in *Aen.* VIII. 564.

⁷⁸ Ditt. *Or. gr. inscr.*, 474.

⁷⁹ *P. Oxy.* 1380. 90, 85; 1449 (for Νεωτέρα, a return of temple property, dated A.D. 213-217. N. explained as Isis-Aphrodite by Grenfell and Hunt *ad loc.*, Vol. XII. p. 142). Cleopatra was θεὰ νεωτέρα in her life; in Wilcken, *Christom. d. Papyruskunde*, I. ii. No. 115, l. 10, p. 145 f. we

find Ἀφροδείτης τῆς καὶ Κλεοπάτρας under Severus Alexander, which is most naturally interpreted of a survival of the conjoint cult (cf. Wilcken. *ad loc.*, and Stähelin, *Pauly-Wissowa*, XI. 780. 59 ff.). Perhaps the explanation is that where Cleopatra had in her life shared cult with Aphrodite-Isis, Cleopatra's personal epithet clung to the goddess. (Νέα and ώραία may have been applied to Isis as the goddess of woman's life, just as Hera is παῖς, παρθένος, τελεία, χήρα.)

An interesting example of Νεωτέρα alone is a gem (*Southesk Gems*, I. 122) showing Isis Pharia and bearing the inscription μεγάλη ἡ νεωτέρα ἡ ἀνείκητος.

⁸⁰ Cf. Timoth. fr. 7 Diehl, νέος Ζεὺς βασιλεύει and Nonnus. *Dion.* I. 479, where Seth-Typhon anticipates being νέον σκηπτοῦχον Ὀλύμπου.

be such. So also Glycon the holy snake at Abonuteichos was νέος Ἀσκληπιός.⁸¹ The divine king is in a similar position. Powerful as the gods, sprung from them, he is the effective present power :

Ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοί

- - - - -

σέ δὲ παρόνθ' ὀρώμεν,

as the Athenians chanted to Demetrius Poliorcetes; ⁸² θεὸς γὰρ ἄλλος ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπάρχει, as a Byzantine moralising poem says. This aspect of the ruler is central in homage paid to him in his life. Yet he is distinct from the gods. When Pompey came to Athens, there was inscribed inside the gate,

ἐφ' ὅσον ὦν ἄνθρωπος οἶδας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἶ θεός.⁸³

This was after centuries of ruler-worship. Claudius in his famous letter to the Alexandrians accepts some honours we should regard as divine; but a high-priest of his own and temples he will not have, οὔτε φορτικός τοῖς κατ' ἑμᾶντόν ἀνθρώποις βουλόμενος εἶναι, τὰ ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μόνοις τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξέρετα ὑπὸ τοῦ παντός αἰῶνος ἀποδεδόσθαι κρίνων.⁸⁴ Domitian was hailed as *dominus deusque*; but his position as defined by the court poet Statius is :

Hunc iubet beatiss

*Pro se Iuppiter imperare terris.*⁸⁵

§ 5. To conclude, a divine name with νέος is in usage interchangeable with the unqualified divine name and does not demonstrably imply an *avatar* conception, except for Ptolemy XIII. The popularity of νέος Διόνυσος may in particular (apart from its use by the actors' guild) be connected with the many aspects of the god of whom Aristides says (IV. p. 49, Dindorf) 'Zeus himself is Dionysos. . . . He is above all the gods warlike and peaceful. They identify with him also Pan, the most perfect dancer of the gods. . . .'

⁸¹ O. Weinreich, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XVIII. 24; *Neue Jahrb.*, 1921, 145; Fr. Pfister, Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. IV. 301. 5.

Parallel in a way to the text from Erythrae is the representation of Taras on Tarentine coins with attributes now of Poseidon, now of Apollo, now of Dionysus (A. J. Evans, *Num. Chron.*, 1889, 90).

⁸² *Ap. Athenae.*, VI. 63, p. 253 D (cf. O. Weinreich, *Neue Jahrb.*, 1926, 646 f.); V. Lundström, *Anecd. Byz.* I. 13, l. 253. Note the use of νέος θεός, νέα θεά, νεωτέρα θεά of rulers (n. 79, and *J.H.S.*, 1925, 94₃₁); add νέα θεά of the elder Agrippina on a coin of Mytilene, of Faustina on one of Delphi, of Plautilla on issues of Alabanda, Alinda, and Stratonicea, Munsterberg, *l.c.* 7b, 19a, 29a; νέοι θεοὶ φυλάδεσθαι of Drusus and Germanicus on coins of the κοινόν

Ἀσίας, *B.M.C. Lydia*, 251 f., Nos. 104-9, Pl. XXVI. 5, assigned to Pergamon by H. Gaebler, *Z. f. Num.* XXIV. 257 n.).

As H. Fränkel remarks (*Gnomon*, 1927, 11), what distinguishes gods from men is their perpetual power of self-renewal.

We must not forget the virtue in magic of a new object or vessel (S. Eitrem, *P. Osloenses*, I. 100, ad l. 266).

⁸³ *Plut. Pomp.* 27; cf. Wilamowitz, *Reden*, II. 182.

⁸⁴ *P. Lond.*, 1912, 49 (H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians*, 24); ἐξέρετα = ἐξαίρετα.

⁸⁵ *Silvae*, IV. 3. 128. Cf. III. 3. 52, hanc (sc. *Romani*) ducibus frenare datum; mox crescit in illos imperium superis, and Dio Prus. I. 84 (Zeus entrusts Heracles with kingship over all mankind).

Moreover, Dionysus and Heracles were the typical examples of men honoured as gods after death for their achievements, as the king might hope to be.

There is, then, no reason to make *véos Διόνυσος* definite and precise; it is vague, like most of the terminology applied to deified rulers, and Greek notions of the incarnation of a definite deity in a human frame for its lifetime are not common.⁸⁶ Ruler-cult was in the last resort the result of the impression made by personality; after that impression faded it was formalised and had not the impetus to produce or apply such a theology.

III. PTOLEMY EPIPHANES

§ 1. The significance of names in antiquity lends additional importance to the epithets given to divine rulers. Pfister, in his admirable article on *Epiphanie*, has raised questions about *Epiphanes* as an epithet of kings which deserve further study. He is inclined to trace its use in Egypt and elsewhere to Seleucid influence.⁸⁷ This suggestion and his inquiry whether the name was given to particular rulers at birth, on accession, or during the reign are responsible for the present note.

The title is first used by Ptolemy V of Egypt: in the Rosetta inscription of March 27, 196, he is *θεὸς Ἐπιφανῆς Εὐχάριστος* in his place among the Ptolemies who share in the cult of Alexander,⁸⁸ and elsewhere in the inscription it is his distinctive epithet; whether we have an earlier instance of the title is uncertain (Revillout regards a demotic protocol of the seventh year of his reign with it as a later addition,⁸⁹ while if Holleaux and Ernst Meyer are right in dating the king's accession on November 28, 203.⁹⁰ his seventh year will be 197/6, in which the Rosetta date falls). Svoronos suggested that the E or ε which appears on the thunderbolt or between the feet of the eagle perched thereon on coins dated 202–194 by the era of Soter might stand for *ἐπιφανῆς*.⁹¹ This is not borne out by our other examples of abbreviation on coins, and is unlikely: a title used for the first time would hardly be expressed in so enigmatic a fashion. If the E is not a mint-mark, as is most probable, it is more likely to stand for 'fifth,' the alternative explanation put forward by Svoronos, than for *ἐπιφανοῦς*.

It is, of course, not certain that the title was not used earlier by or of Ptolemy V. Such titles are frequently omitted, sometimes even in texts relating to the cultus of the king in question;⁹² moreover, it is now commonly

⁸⁶ U. Kahrstedt's theory (*Griechisches Staatsrecht*, I. 126 ff.), that the Spartan kings were considered to be incarnations of the Spartan heroes, does not seem to me proved or probable.

⁸⁷ Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. IV. 306 ff. He argues that Ptolemy V took it under Seleucid influence as a result of his marriage with Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus III. But (1) the title was not yet in use in the Seleucid house; (2) it is found before the marriage in 193 (though probably not, it is true, before the betrothal); (3) in one

text subsequent to the marriage Ptolemy has the epithet and Cleopatra has not (*Arch. f. Pap.*, III. 127. No. 3).

⁸⁸ Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 90. 5.

⁸⁹ *Revue Égyptologique*, II. 106.

⁹⁰ Cf. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce, et les monarchies hellénistiques*, 71; Ernst Meyer, *Unters. z. Chron. d. Ptol.*, 39 ff.

⁹¹ *TA NOMISMATA TΩN ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΝ*, IV. 249.

⁹² Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 613.

held that the use of them did not necessarily depend on a decree by the Egyptian priesthoods.⁹³ There is in the stone no reference to a conferring of the title. Still, on the face of it there is no reason for the use of this new title on Ptolemy's succession to the throne as a child. It is more likely that he took it at his coming of age (*Ἀνακλήτῃρια*) in 197, which was followed by his coronation at Memphis in Egyptian style on November 26.⁹⁴ A king who came to the throne as a minor, though he received the diadem then and there,⁹⁵ and counted his regnal years from that point, did not rule till his coming of age. The *ἀνακλήτῃρια* ceremony may well have originally involved that popular recognition by the army's acclamation which was essential according to Macedonian ideas;⁹⁶ if it survived in Ptolemaic Egypt, it would be as a form without meaning. At this festival Ptolemy might appropriately take the epithet *Ἐπιφανής*.

§ 2. It has been pointed out by earlier writers that this Ptolemaic practice of giving a characteristic and personal epithet to the individual ruler is something quite different from Pharaonic nomenclature.⁹⁷ Each Pharaoh received a number of titles of stereotyped kind, also various conventional epithets such as 'Powerful bull,' 'Master who can do everything,' 'Resplendent in his glorious appearance.'⁹⁸ He has not *one* epithet which is his peculiar property and explained by special circumstances. *Soter* has a special reference: it was conferred on Ptolemy I by the grateful Rhodians and passed thence into official use;⁹⁹ *Philadelphos* refers to the marriage of Ptolemy II to his sister Arsinoë; *Euergetes*, a common Greek secular term for the benefactor of a city, may be explained with reference to his reuniting of Cyrenaica with Egypt, or be a general term of compliment; *Philopator*¹⁰⁰ is personal; *Epiphanes* we shall consider; *Philometor* refers to the devotion of Ptolemy VI to his mother Cleopatra; *Eupator* is general.

Some of these epithets correspond to the conventional Pharaonic epithets, but their application is Greek. It is clear that the synod of priests acted in consultation with the Government, and probable that the honours which they decreed to the king's house were due to royal suggestion rather than to their initiative.¹⁰¹ Ptolemy V was called *Ἐπιφανής Εὐχάριστος*, the hieroglyphic equivalents being 'he who cometh forth' and 'lord of beauties.' Both are older Egyptian epithets; the latter has little force in Greek, and may well be chosen from the Egyptian point of view. But the former has so clear a force in Greek that it must have been selected with an eye to that, even if the decree

⁹³ On their synods cf. W. Otto, *Sitzungsber. bay. Ak.*, 1926, ii. 18 ff.

⁹⁴ So E. R. Bevan, *Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 260.

⁹⁵ Polyb. XV. 25. 7.

⁹⁶ Cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*² IV. i. 380. Precedents are not frequent, since minors seldom reached the throne. The ceremony at Memphis in November 197 is described

l. 45 of the Rosetta stone as τὰ νομιζόμενα τῇ παραλήψει τῆς βασιλείας.

⁹⁷ Kaerst, II². 339; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, II. 272. The fact that new titles do not appear

after Eupator, with the exception of Neos Dionysos, may be connected with a decline in initiative on the Greek side. The priesthood, with its more impersonal view of monarchy, has gained ground.

⁹⁸ Conveniently summarised by G. Foucart, *Enc. Rel. Eth.* VII. 712 f.

⁹⁹ Pausan. I. 8. 6.

¹⁰⁰ A name apparently given to him before his accession; cf. *P. Tebtunis*, II. p. 407.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Otto, *Priester, l.c.*, and *Sitzungsb., l.c.*, 32.

was first redacted in Egyptian and then translated into Greek (and the latest discussion tends to the view that it was, in fact, first redacted in Greek, though in collaboration with an Egyptian or Egyptians).¹⁰²

Ἐπιφανής as a divine epithet does not normally describe a deity incarnate and regularly visible in the person of a king; it implies rather the making of sudden *ἐπιφανεῖαι*, appearances in person or manifestations of power.¹⁰³ A god or a divine king is *ἐπιφανής* when he by his *ἐπιφανεῖα* produces some striking result. A king may show his superhuman powers in healing or again in controlling the weather, but his normal field is war.¹⁰⁴ He can be called *ἐπιφανής* also in a purely earthly sense, 'distinguished.' The first official giving of this title to a king requires a special explanation; unfortunately we are for this reduced to guesswork.

In Ptolemy's early years Antiochus and Philip were in alliance capturing the foreign possessions of Egypt. In the winter of 199/8 the Aetolian Scopas won back Palestine, but was turned out again after the battle of Panion. At this point Antiochus seems to have offered terms; Ptolemy was to be betrothed to Cleopatra, and to make his former Syrian possessions her dowry: the revenues were to be shared: peace was not concluded till 196. These events were not over-glorious for Egypt, but in courtly language they might be hailed as successes.¹⁰⁵ Certainly we find Ptolemy in his eighth year, 198/7 or 196/5, called 'the victorious' in a demotic text. This is, of course, easily explained as conventional. It is perhaps more likely that 'the victorious' and *Ἐπιφανής* should be explained with reference to domestic events and not to affairs abroad. We may look either to the suppression of the conspiracy of Scopas just before the *Ἀνακλητήρια* in 197, or (as Eduard Meyer suggests) to the suppression of an Egyptian rising in the same year; the leaders of this were executed at Memphis at the time of Ptolemy's coronation there.¹⁰⁶

§ 3. Such a title, when once brought into royal titulature, was sure to be used widely; its convenient width of meaning, ranging from 'god showing himself' to 'distinguished,' suited well the vagueness characteristic of the language employed in this connection. Antiochus IV adopted it, and then

¹⁰² Cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Das Verhältniss d. griech. u. ägypt. Texte in d. zweispr. Dekr. von Rosette u. Kanopos* (Papyrusinstitut Heidelberg; *Schrift* 5, 1922). The general titulature apart from the epithet is Egyptian (Spiegelberg, 3 f.). Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 49, regards *Epiphanes* also as here Egyptian in origin; its equivalent in the Egyptian text, 'He who cometh forth,' is certainly appropriate for a ruler who has come to the throne after a period of tutelage.

¹⁰³ Cf. the passage from Appian translated, p. 41; Pfister, *l.c.*, 300 ff.; Ch. Picard, *Xenia*, 67 ff.; and Pausan. IX. 40. 11, καὶ εἶναι μὲν τι θεώτερον (*sc.* τὸ σκηπτρον) οὐχ ἡκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

For the second sense cf. Pfister, 308.

¹⁰⁴ For healing cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 7; Dio Cass.

LXV. 7. 1, and Alexander's dream-intimation of the cure for Ptolemy (Pauly-Wissowa, XI. 623. 5), and A. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*. For weather cf. E. Pfeiffer, *ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ*, II. 102 f. For war cf. *Corp. Herm.* XVIII. 16, ἤδη δὲ καὶ μόνῃ εἰκὼν φανεῖσα βασιλέως ἐνήργησε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὸ ἀτρομόν τε καὶ ἀτρωτον προὔξενῃσε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν. The Emperor is on a line with other θεῶν ἄνθρωποι, as Weinreich points out (*Neue Jahrb.*, 1926, 648 f.); cf. in general Pfister, Pauly-Wissowa, XI. 2125 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Revillout, *Chrest. démotique*, 336. For the numismatic glorification of a far from glorious ending to a war cf. J. Vogt, *Alexandr. Münzen*, I. 175 (under Macrinus).

¹⁰⁶ Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, II. 139.

defined its meaning more closely as ΘΕΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ and as ΘΕΟΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ. While Ptolemy V uses it very rarely on coins, Antiochus uses it regularly. Pfister suggests that he had the title before he came to the throne. This seems hardly likely. That he received the title when he came to the throne might be argued from Appian's remark: 'The Syrians gave him the epithet *Epiphanes* because, when foreigners were ravaging the kingdom, he appeared as a king of their own.'¹⁰⁷ Yet his first coins bear the plain inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; only later do we have ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. This is the sequence one might expect on internal grounds. The matter deserves a minute numismatic investigation which is beyond my competence; Mr. E. S. G. Robinson has kindly communicated to me his opinion that this is, in fact, the sequence of the coins, and that the first coins with ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ are those struck by Antiochus in 170 when he was successfully invading Egypt.¹⁰⁸ It may be added that the earliest known epigraphic instance of his use of the title seems to be in September 166 in Babylonia.¹⁰⁹

It may therefore be suggested that with Antiochus as with Ptolemy V the title had a precise reference when first assumed in official use. Later it could be adopted by other monarchs as a conventional royal epithet; its original force is, I hope, that here urged.

IV. ZEUS SELEUKIOS

In *J.H.S.* 1925, 92 f., it was suggested that *Mars Augustus*, *Iuppiter Augustus* and the like meant the gods conceived as protecting the Emperor.¹¹⁰ It was there urged that the epithet is in effect equivalent to the genitive *Augusti* commonly conjoined with names of deities,¹¹¹ and that we must compare other epithets which specialise the functions of a god; some additional material of

¹⁰⁷ Appian's explanation shows what is, I think, true feeling for the sense of *Ἐπιφανής*. So *praesens* means 'making himself felt,' as, for instance, in Horace, *C. I.* 35. 2, *praesens uel imo tollere de gradu | mortale corpus uel superbos | uertere funeribus triumphos*.

¹⁰⁸ The provisional sequence is illustrated on Pl. VIII. The coins of 170, thought by Svoronos to have been struck in Egypt, are now assigned by E. T. Newell, *Am. Journ. Num.*, LI. (1917), 24 ff., to a Syrian mint.

The impression made by this successful invasion of Egypt appears from the Jewish *Oracula Sibyllina*, III. 611 ff.; cf. A. Rzach, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II. A 2127. The rare coin bearing the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ (Babelon, p. 68, no. 526, pl. XII. 5) seems on grounds of style to be early, and to come from the Eastern part of the Empire.

¹⁰⁹ *Or. gr. inscr.*, 253; cf. A. Mago,

Antioch IV Epifane Re di Syria (1907), 102₁₇. No chronological indication is yet available from the foundation or re-foundation of cities as Epiphaneia; thus that in Coele Syria can only be dated as before 163 (U. Kahrstedt, *Syrische Territorien*, 87).

¹¹⁰ It has its full force for Caligula as Zeus Epiphanes Neos (Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 43, § 346). It is not often given to Emperors (Pfister, 307 f.; add Etruscus on a coin of Mopsus, Valerianus junior on one of Aphrodisias, Saloninus on one of Tabae (Munsterberg, *Num. Zeit.*, LIX. 42^a, 46^a)). Is the use of *ἐπιφανέστατος* to be explained from the weakening of the epithet's force in use? (Examples in F. Steinleitner, *Die Beicht*, 1913, 15 ff.; Pfister, 301.)

¹¹¹ On the formation of the epithet *Augustus*. 'relating to Augustus,' from the title *Augustus*, cf. J. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Syntax*, II. 59 ff.; on the equivalence of genitive and adjective, K. Latte, *Arch. f. Rel.*, XXIV. 255.

the latter kind may be relegated to a note.¹¹² I wish here to draw attention to a possible Hellenistic parallel, the cult of Zeus Seleukios. It is attested by an inscription at Saryschlar near Kula in Lydia, dated as A.D. 228/9.¹¹³ Διὶ Σελευκίῳ καὶ Νύμφαις | καρποδοτείραις ἡ Νισυρέων κατοικία ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀβλαβείας | καὶ τελεσφορίας τῶν καρπῶν | κατ' ἐπιταγήν. The editors prefer to regard this Zeus as a Macedonian god (Σελεύκιος perhaps = 'the brilliant').¹¹⁴ It is difficult to deny the possibility; but in any case Ζεὺς Σελεύκιος would almost certainly be regarded as patron of the Seleucid line, which associated itself closely with Zeus,¹¹⁵ and controlled Lydia in the first half of the third century B.C.

If this interpretation is correct, we have both a forerunner of the *Augustus* epithet, and also an interesting example of the survival of an epithet belonging to a dynasty of the distant past; this is then a parallel to that partial survival in cultus of Cleopatra which has been mentioned earlier.¹¹⁶ To the question of the duration of ruler-cult I hope to return in the next of these *Notes*.

A. D. NOCK.

¹¹² τὴν Λεξιερώντος Ἀφροδίτην on Samos (Plut. Q.G. LIV. p. 303 C): Ἡρακλῆς Διομεδόντειος on Cos (Paton-Hicks, *Inscriptions of Cos*, 36 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1106. This is a pious foundation made by Diomedon); Ζεὺς Μηλίκιος τῶν περὶ Πολύξενον, and Ζεὺς τῶν περὶ Λάκιον, Ζεὺς τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπόδωρον on Thera, and similar combinations of ἡρώων, Ζηνός or Ζηνός Μηλικίῳ, and Εὐμενίδων with the genitives of the names of dead men at Cyrene (S. Ferri, *Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca*, 13 ff.; I do not believe that there is here any question of identification of the deceased and the deity). Examples are more plentiful outside Greece, as, for instance, in Syria, where the usage continues in Christian times (E. Peterson, *EIS ΘΕΟΣ*, 210 ff.), in Caria (Διὶ Παλινήμερῳ Ἀργύρου καὶ Ἡρᾷ; Roscher, III. 1496). I have referred in *J.H.S.* XLV. 91 to Μῆν Τιάμου, etc. It is clear that some of these apparent genitives are, as Prof. Calder reminds me, Anatolian nominatives; τιάμας (genit.) seems to mean 'tomb' (*Mon. Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, I. No. 406). Yet it may appear from a text published by Zingerle, *Jahresb.* XXIII. Beibl. 5 ff., containing the phrase, l. 16, τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ Τιάμου, that Τιάμου was sometimes thought to be a genitive, and Μῆς Ἀρεμιδώρου (Keil-Von Premerstein, *Zweite Reisebericht*, p. 103 ff., No. 204, with full references to earlier literature; in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, LIV. ii.) is clearly a formation made by analogy on this assumption. To the question why similar genitives are not common I would reply that all these forms are local; Μῆν Τιάμου is very re-

stricted in range (W. H. Buckler, *B.S.A.*, XXI. 180). The genitive use did not develop far; possibly it was alien to Greek feeling, as Farnell suggests (*Greece and Babylon*, 195 f.).

¹¹³ Keil-von Premerstein, *Zweite Reisebericht*, p. 101. No. 200. Cf. also A. B. Cook's restoration of an inscription from Lagina in Caria (*Zeus*, II. 879) Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ θεῷ τῷ βασιλικῷ.

¹¹⁴ They refer to their first *Bericht* (*Denkschr.* LIII. ii.), p. 20, No. 27 B, l. 20 for a puzzling ξυσταρχία . . . Ἀλεξανδρείας Σελευκείου coming after Ἀλεξανδρείας Σελευκείου, which postulates an ἄγων Σελευκείος like the ἄγων Σεβαστεῖος, and suppose that the same Zeus was there honoured. I cannot explain the festival except on the rather desperate assumption that it was in honour of the deified Seleucus, who had been in close alliance with Ptolemy more than once, and who may have had some small ἄγων founded in his honour which happened to survive; it may be noted that in the Alexander-romance Seleucus plays an important part, and a representation of him is in one version said to have been put in a high tower in the east of the newly-founded Alexandria (F. Stahelin, *Pauly-Wissowa*, II A, 1233 f.).

¹¹⁵ Cf. Dittenberger, *Or. gr. inscr.*, 245. 10; *Cl. Rev.*, 1925, 63. It may be suggested that Σελεύκιος refers to the well-known Zeus of Seleucia Pieria (cf. Ἀλεξανδρείος, meaning 'of Alexandria'; even so the connexion with the Seleucids would remain; they founded Seleucia.

¹¹⁶ P. 36, n. 79.

APPENDIX (PLATE VIII)

COINS OF ANTIOCHUS IV

1. *Obv.* : Head of king r. diademed (strongly resembling his predecessor Seleucus IV).
Rev. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ Apollo seated l. on omphalos, holding bow and arrow; in field and exergue, palm and two monograms.
 Ⲡ tetradrachm. B.M. (*B.M.C. Seleucids*, p. 34, No. 2).
2. *Obv.* : Head of king r. diademed (normal portrait).
Rev. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟ[Υ] | ΕΠΙΦΑΝ[ΟΥΣ] Zeus seated l. holding Nike and sceptre.
 Ⲡ tetradrachm. B.M. (recent acquisition).
3. *Obv.* : As No. 2.
Rev. : Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ as No. 2; in exergue, monogram.
 Ⲡ tetradrachm. B.M. (*B.M.C. ibid.*, p. 35, No. 15).
4. *Obv.* : As No. 2.
Rev. : ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ | ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ as No. 1; in field and exergue, palm and two monograms (one the same as on No. 1).
 Ⲡ tetradrachm. B.M. (*B.M.C. ibid.*, p. 34, No. 6).
5. *Obv.* : As No. 2; behind head the monogram common to Nos. 1 and 4.
Rev. : ΒΑ]ΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ] | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ as No. 2; in field and exergue, palm and monogram.
 Ⲡ tetradrachm. B.M. (*B.M.C. ibid.*, p. 35, No. 21).
6. *Obv.* : Head of Zeus r. laureate.
Rev. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ and in exergue, ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ : as No. 2.
 Ⲡ tetradrachm. B.M. (*B.M.C. ibid.*, p. 36, No. 22).
7. *Obv.* : Head of Zeus-Sarapis r. laureate.
Rev. : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ANTIOXΟΥ || ΘΕΟΥ | ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ Eagle standing r. on thunderbolt.
 Ⲡ. Half. B.M. (recent acquisition)
8. *Obv.* : Bust of Isis r. wearing wreath of corn-ears.
Rev. : As No. 7.
 Ⲡ. Quarter. B.M. (*B.M.C. ibid.*, p. 38, No. 46).

AN UNEDITED FUNERAL MONUMENT

IN the Rectory garden at Ewhurst, Sussex, while the late Rev. A. J. Tuck was rector, there was discovered in 1905, obscured by earth and debris in the rockery, the remarkable Greek stele here illustrated. It is now in the possession of the rector's widow, Mrs. Tuck Powell.

The living of Ewhurst had previously been held by the Rev. G. J. Boudier, a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who had been a chaplain in the Crimea; and he may have procured this marble there or on his way out or back in Greece. Nothing further is known of its provenance, or can be guessed except from the relic itself.



FIG. 1.—RELIEF AT EWHURST.

The face which we have has been roughly broken off from its back, leaving the surface uneven. At the back on the upper part about two inches of marble remain at the left end, which gradually slopes down to a very thin edge on the right end, the marble here being left in the rough. On the left side of the marble at the back the broken portion is smoothed and slopes inwards, being from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick to $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches at the bottom end. Along the bottom and at the back the stone has been smoothed and is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick.

The front of the marble is 10 inches across and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches vertically. It is convex, as if part of a grave lekythos. The scene depicted is the familiar farewell scene. A bearded man of noble and benign features is seated holding his wife's, or more probably daughter's, right hand in his own right, while there is another figure of a woman in a mourning attitude with her head on her right hand standing a little behind and in the centre of the group. Above her head is the word *XAIPE*, and over the man's head is *EYΦΗΜΟΣ*.

Considering the usage to which this interesting marble has been subjected, it must be called in fairly good condition, and a pleasing specimen of fine Greek work. As such it deserves to be recorded and submitted to the eyes of experts, who can doubtless give an approximate date to the work. Its skill as a composition and the lifelike character of the principal figure warrant the belief that it belongs to one of the better periods of Greek art.

C. R. HAINES.

ANATOLICA QUAEDAM

I. THE CAMPAIGNS OF SERVILIUS ISAURICUS IN ASIA MINOR

PROFESSOR ORMEROD was the first to direct attention ¹ to the importance of this proconsul's war against the Isaurian pirates in its bearing on the topography of Asia Minor. The operations were fully described in Sallust's Histories, but only fragments remain. The list of territories which Servilius added to the *ager publicus* of Rome is given twice by Cicero in his *Orationes de Lege Agraria*, I. 5 and II. 50, especially the latter.

The ultimate authority is doubtless the *Act. Triumph.*, which would be certainly complete and unimpeachable; and it is in the last degree improbable that Cicero would omit any *ager*. The enumeration would be very effective in his sonorous orations,² and it is given twice. Error might creep in by two loop-holes: (1) errors in transmission of the text of Cicero; (2) errors in representing by Roman letters names which were counted barbarous and Anatolian. Probably there was an intermediate stage of transmission through Greek; and it is pointed out frequently in my *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* ³ that the Greek alphabet had no suitable symbols to represent quite a variety of Anatolian sounds, especially W or V, Yod, sonant N and several vowel sounds; also that several consonants were (and are still in the peasants' Turkish) pronounced in a way very difficult to catch exactly; e.g. R and L, also L and N, seem to interchange (Sayce finds the latter linguistic phenomenon in Hittite).⁴ In my own experience I have several times found that an initial surd seemed to be at once T and P and K; and one remembers that Perseus was the hero-founder of Tersos (now called Tersous, but in Greek represented as *Ταρσός*). Popular etymology played a part in the presentation of Tersu ⁵ as *Ταρσός*: but also the vowel-sound was something between A and E. In the earliest Greek mention of the people Prostanneis, they are called *Προσταεννείς*, with a sound intermediate between English *tan* and *ten*.

¹ *J.R.S.* 1922, p. 35. I owe much to his researches and have privately expressed my debt. See also appended note, p. 49.

² Milton often depends for effect on such an enumeration of names.

³ Owing to unfortunate circumstances, the book had to be cut short, photographs were omitted, proofs badly or not at all corrected (e.g. on p. 184 'dissimulation' should be 'dissimilation'; Souter points out 'Sairbenos' for 'Lairbenos' on p. 247. 'Romanists', 'Roman colonists'; the last

chapter contains fragments of four distinct chapters).

⁴ In modern Turkish pronunciation Eleore-Elevre, Nevleplejar-Lebelebjiilar are variants.

⁵ The case-endings in the grecisation of Anatolian words are Greek. In inscriptions, nearly contemporary, of the same district there occur *Κιδραμας*, *Κιδραμος*, *Κιδραμavτος*, *Κιδραμα*, and *Κιδραμοας*, *Κιδραμοα* also occur. I do not venture to accent them.

(1) Ager Aperensis has evidently the first *e* long, and perhaps should be spelt Aperrensis. It is a territory taken from Aperlai in Lycia, with RL represented as RR, through the lengthening of the E preceding. Just as Προ-στα-μνα became in Greek either Προ-στη-μνα or Προ-στα-μα (with a lengthened by the vanished *ν*), so Αperrensis became probably even Apellensis as well as Aperrensis. This form does not survive except probably in the Greek Ἀπέλλων or Ἀπόλλων. Apollo was an Anatolian god, who was carried by way of Crete or Delos to Delphi. He was an immigrant god, as old tradition says. He was Lycius, and localised as Apellon and Patareus: "Delius aut Patareus Apollo," as Horace calls him. The two forms Ἀπέλλων and Ἀπόλλων probably represent two paths of immigration into Greece.

(2) Ager Olympenus was taken from the city Olympus in Lycia.

It is evident that the Isaurian pirates were swept eastwards from their hiding-places on the south coast of Asia Minor. Hence the next territory is—

(3) Ager Phaseliticus.

(4) Ager Attalenus, seized from the town of Attaleia in Pamphylia, whose landlocked little harbour is now useless but was suited for a nest of pirates.

(5) Ager Gedusanus was taken from the town afterwards called Elaïoussa, and probably Zumpt's proposal Γεύσανος is near the truth. The native name of the town was either something like Wedous or Elavous; the Anatolian name for the olive tree is uncertain; the change from D to L was characteristic. The initial G in Gedusanus may be compared with the name of the village where Leo Phokas was arrested. *ωλεοντ*,⁶ translated into Greek as Λέοντος κώμη, and in the native rude speech (spelt in Greek letters) Γοῦ Λέοντος, presaging *divinitus* the wailing of Leo when his eyes were put out by his captors.

(6) Thus Servilius reached the lower Cilicia, and his official *provincia* was Cilicia. The sphere of duty called Cilicia embraced the whole Roman policy in the south-east of Asia Minor; and a true instinct has guided several scholars to rank him as an early Roman governor of Cilicia. Then inevitably he passed through the Cilician Gates, traversing a part of Cappadocia to Cybistra: as Rome was at peace with Cappadocia, which was still an independent kingdom, the consent of the king was necessary, but could be assumed.

(7) Isaura Nova was captured by a stratagem described by Frontinus and in a fragment of Sallust's Histories. The little *mons* on the west side of the town in the valley of a stream was divided from the town by this stream. On the *mons* is the village called Lystra, and here stood the shrine of the goddess, 'clustered around by' Isaurian graves: the graves were marked by numerous monuments, those above the present surface being all of Roman period, and many being early Christian of a remarkable type. Much might be found here, but the inhabitants would have to be expropriated.

The town of Isaura was situated on a tongue of land, now uninhabited, on the east side of the stream. The stratagem was that Servilius diverted the

⁶ On *ῥα*, *ῥγη*, *ουα*, the Anatolian word *Asiatic Elements*, Chap. VIII, on the for village, κώμη, quoted by Hesychius in 'Village Right.' many variations of spelling, see p. 105

river from its course, an easy operation, and made it flow on the west side of Dorla (the *mons*). Isaura Nova depended on this stream for its water, and was obliged to surrender immediately. The stratagem is not possible at Isaura Palaia, as Sterrett long ago pointed out; but he unluckily never saw Dorla (which lies up the valley of a stream, and is not visible from the open plain of Lycaonia). Dorla was discovered by Hogarth, Bishop Headlam of Gloucester, and myself in 1890, at the end of a long day's ride, but we could not stay, as the camp was still four hours distant, and the sun had set. Hence we did not realise its importance at the time.

The stratagem is not possible at any other site in this country (which I have examined very thoroughly); and the inference that Isaura Nova was the town whose scanty remains are to be seen on the east side of the Dorla river is confirmed by an inscription commemorating Zenobios, who was pre-eminent among all the inhabitants of Isaura.⁷

Sterrett, not knowing Dorla and the town east of it, proposed a different site, Diñorna, to the north-west, because there an inscription mentions the wife of an inhabitant as daughter of a senator of the Isaurians; but this proves nothing as to the name of the place to which her husband belonged.⁸ I believe that Diñorna was Korna, an Isaurian town that rose in the Roman period and became a bishopric. Moreover, the stratagem was not possible there, as we all, including Professor Calder, agreed on the spot.

I have dwelt at length on this identification (which seems to me as certain as anything in inner Anatolian topography) because of its great importance for the line of march of Servilius Isauricus, and for the nature and military value of his operations, also for its bearing on the last territory, ager Oroandicus, which he made the property of the Roman people.

(8) The operations were spectacular, but quite ineffective for the purpose of the campaign. The capture of towns on the north of Taurus had no effect on the pirates, for those towns could not possibly harbour pirates. The senatorial party hailed with enthusiasm the apparently brilliant operations of their own general; and the pirates continued their raids merrily, and were more dangerous than before. The first operation of sweeping the coast-line was rightly planned. The march by land back to the west coast had important political effects on the inland country. It set the example of a land march for the governors of Cilicia, which saved them from attacks by pirates; the proconsuls landed, as Cicero did, at Ephesus, and crossed the province Asia to reach his own province. The *tres dioeceses Asiaticae* (Laodicea, Apamea, Synnada) were conjoined with Cilicia, in order that the proconsul of Cilicia might reach his proper province sooner. Traversing the Philomelian *conventus* (which was Lycaonian)⁹ and the Iconian (which was Isaurian), the

⁷ *Ἰσαῦρα* for *Ἰσαῦρα* for *Ἰσαῦρα*. Compare three towns whose names, corrupt in the Peutinger Table, should perhaps be read Iconium (civi)tas, pa(r)lais colonia, isaria, if memory does not deceive me.

⁸ It rather suggests that the daughter of a senator of Isaura married a man of

another town: but in fact Diñorna (ancient Korna) was a village of Isaurika.

⁹ Later the boundaries of Cilicia were pushed further north to Podandos or beyond, as they remained even in 1910 and perhaps still.

proconsul reached the borders of Cappadocia at Cybistra; and, after passing over a small part of Cappadocia (sometimes conferring with the king), he again entered Roman territory at the Cilician Gates, where Roman inscriptions mark the ὄροι Κιλικίων.¹⁰

(9) It is not improbable that Servilius was induced to cross Taurus and attack Isaura because he was misled by the name. He and the Romans had only the vaguest knowledge of the nature of Taurus, that lofty plateau, much broken by the action of water, near 80 miles broad in this eastern part and reaching nearly 10,000 feet elevation in the long ridge of Bulgar Dagħ. He had the idea that the Isaurian pirates must have some connexion with Isaura. They were really Cilician pirates (or Tracheiote), and could have no connexion with Isaura Nova and the Isaurika (as Strabo describes it). Thus arose his plan of returning by land and his conquest of the ager Oroandicus (which will be described in an article in *J.R.S.* or in *Klio*).

NOTE.—I touch for a moment on Professor Ormerod's view, which I first saw in print in 1928 at Athens (shown me by Mr. Woodward). I missed the paper when it appeared in *J.R.S.* 1922; long illness and death in my family was the cause. I had some correspondence with Professor Ormerod, before his paper appeared, and tried to suggest to him my own ideas; but he has taken a totally different view. The Koinon of the Lycians (as he rightly says) was opposed to the pirates, but was unable to maintain its power against them. Hence none of the territory of the Koinon was seized as *ager publicus*. This has misled Ormerod into thinking that the pirates did not infest any of the harbours west of Phaselis, and even makes him adopt Professor Calder's opinions that *Ager Agerensis*, not *Aperensis*, is the text of Cicero, and that *Gedusanus* is an error for *Sedasanus*. He also seems to hold that Servilius crossed the middle Taurus and never saw Cilicia: and he doubts whether Servilius ever marched back along the north side of Taurus. To cross by the Cilician Gates was to cross Taurus, which Servilius (as Ormerod rightly says) was the first Roman to do. It is now proved by recent discoveries made by the Austrians that he was worshipped in Ephesus as a god: Rome and P. Servilius Isauricus had a priest there as late as A.D. 100–200, and, in another still unpublished inscription, Servilius alone had this priest. The Austrian scholars rightly see that this implies Ephesian gratitude for the relief given by Roman power from the pirate raids. Such a cult would not be instituted before the pirates were temporarily crushed, and implies that Servilius, after his campaigns, ended up by re-embarking at Ephesus after three or four years' warfare, reaching that harbour after a long march along the north side of Taurus. Ormerod takes no notice of the decisive evidence as to the situation of the Oroandas afforded by the robber-raid of Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C., and follows Calder's extraordinary error in holding that I ever supposed Dorla village to be the site of Isaura Nova. I pointed out the whole situation to Calder in 1909: but the intervening War has obscured his memory. I hope to

¹⁰ Pliny mentions that the Philomelian *diocesis* was turned into a *conventus* attached to the province Asia.

illuminate the whole situation either in the *J.R.S.*, if the editors permit, or else in *Klio*. It is quite wrong to think, as Ormerod does, that the people on the central plateau and north slopes of Taurus could be pirates; they were called by Strabo brigands. Taurus is an elevated plateau, in some places eighty miles broad; it is not a ridge; it protrudes from the main mass of Asia Major to the Aegean Sea (as Strabo says). I have crossed Taurus thirteen times at different points and speak from considerable experience.

The cities of the Koinon of the Lycians varied at different times, as Hill remarks in *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, p. lxxv, note.

II. A SALVE FOR WOUNDS

This quaint inscription was copied by the late Professor Sterrett (*W.E.*, 398), high in the Eurymedon valley, but not nearly so high as its source (*J.R.S.*, 1926, p. 102 f.), at a village Avshahr. I was at this village in 1890, but did not see it. Sterrett gives no transcription, and no indication of lost letters; but in his always careful publication I take this as a proof that he considered that no letters were lost.

The following tentative interpretation may provoke correction or comment. I give a transcription with spelling improved.

ΟΔΟΔΟCTVCEΛΚΕCΙ
ΤΟΠΡΟΤΟΝΟΦΘΙ
CINBAΘICTOYME
ΑΙΤΟCΜΑΛΑΙΙΚΟΤΟC.¹¹

ὁδωδός τοῖς ἔλκεσι
τὸ πρῶτον ὀφθῇ
σίμβλῳ θεῖς, τοῦ μέ-
λιτος μαλα[κηκ]ότος.

The inscription is late (O for Ω, the form of Θ with the horizontal line projecting on both sides, and V for Υ).

Hesychius gives ὁδωδός· ὄζων. He therefore admitted it as masculine an odorous herb. He also has ἔφθον· ὠπτημένον. I presume, therefore, that this Pisidian physician may be permitted to regard ὠφθην, conj. ὀφθῇ, as strong aorist pass. of ὀπτάζω. The meaning then would be, 'In the case of wounds, as an immediate treatment ("first aid"), let a certain odorous herb be roasted, after you have placed it in a hive and after the honey has softened it.' Presumably the stuff was to be kept ready.

As ὀπτάζω, roast, and ἔψω, boil, are philologically closely related, and we are thus carried back to the earliest age, when the original verb meant 'cook,' it is possible that Sterrett's text might be slightly altered to read ἔφθῃ, 'let it be boiled, after it has been made sweet and soft.' One might also suppose an imperative form ὀφθι, 'boil it (or roast it), having sweetened and softened it.' The two words in Hesychius may be regarded as derived from medical language, and known, therefore, to the authorities of Diogenianus (whose work Hesychius used).¹²

¹¹ In l. 1 T is imperfect. In l. 4 the second A is imperfect, but certainly was in the copy.

¹² So the prefaced letter (formerly denounced as a forgery, when that craze ruled and ran riot among scholars).

III. NEON, NIKON, AND HELIODORUS

These three saints were peculiarly sacred at Antioch of Pisidia. They are not named in the old Syriac Martyrology, nor in the Hieronymian, published by Abbé Duchesne; but they occur with a number of others in the Basilian as martyred under Diocletian. One of the most interesting results of our excavation at that city is the accompanying iron seal (Fig. 1), which probably was the seal of some church or monastery. We were engaged in tracing some of

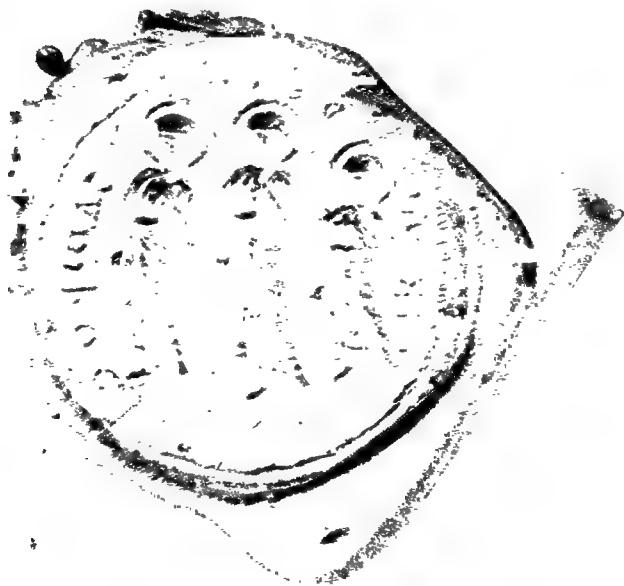


FIG. 1.—IRON SEAL.

the deep buried streets of the city in 1927, when this large seal was found and bought from the finder.¹³

The small side (Fig. 2) bears the monogram **BACQY** or **BACCOY**. It is connected with the large main seal by three bars. Possibly Bases or Basos or Bassos was the Bishop under whom the oldest church in Antioch was built.

¹³ It was captured and the population carried away into slavery by the Arabs in A.D. 713. Naturally they burned the city. In digging one finds numerous traces of the

fire. The houses were, as often in modern times, built with a stone substructure and a wooden superstructure.

The Basilian list of martyrs on September 28 is long; but Nikon, Neon, and Heliodoros of Antioch had evidently some peculiarly close connexion with each other. The smaller size of Nikon may indicate that he was a boy; but is more probably to be explained by accommodation to the contour of the seal-surface. Their names are written retrograde on the sealing, possibly through error of the cutter. The figures are rude and (as I should say) early, before the Byzantine style was fully developed.

The theory which I venture to propose ¹⁴ is that the Church in the centre of the city on a little hillock has taken the place of the Synagogue in which St. Paul preached. It has a double apse enclosed within the bounding walls of the Church. One of the apses is in the usual situation and style. The other is much smaller and slightly back from the chief semicircular apse. Its south wall merges in the south wall of the Church. Its north wall joins the end of the main apse, and has a little door communicating with the open space between



FIG. 2 —SMALL SIDE OF SEAL.

the main apse and the bounding east wall of the Church. My theory is that this smaller apse was built to glorify and sanctify some special part of the Church, which had some holy memory connected with it. The event thus remembered can hardly be the scene of the martyrdom, for that would not probably be inside the city. I venture to suggest that this event was the presence of Paul and Barnabas there. They took their place on the bench reserved in the Synagogue for strangers who wished to address the people, a custom which has always been observed in Synagogues. At the proper moment, 'after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, the rulers of the Synagogue sent unto them, saying, Brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. And Paul stood up, and, beckoning with the hand, said——' (Acts xiii. 15 f.).

If this theory be correct, there remained alive in Antioch the memory of

¹⁴ In the *Sunday School Times*, 1924. It is ridiculed by Mr. D. M. Robinson of Johns Hopkins University; but the seal was not known to him, as it was found only in 1927.

Moreover, the church to which I refer was not excavated until 1927, though the main apse was visible when he was there in 1924.

Paul and Barnabas till the age of church-building began about A.D. 330-350. Much more would the memory of the recent martyrs be retained within half a century after their death. Valerius Diogenes, who was a noted persecutor under Licinianus Licinius and Maximin II, changed sides when Constantine triumphed, and raised an inscription in honour of the victor. The cult of martyrs had already begun, and the Synagogue was transformed into a Church and dedicated to the three recent and probably the last martyrs in Antioch, not to the old Apostles, though the memory of the latter was still living.

In this smaller apse there are remains of a stone foundation for a bench and desk looking obliquely towards the congregation. Any wood has, of course, long ago rotted in that climate, where snow and rain fall abundantly, making the country rich and the archaeologists disappointed.

The confirmation of the historicity of old tradition, as preserved in the *Menologia* and *Martyrologia*, is peculiarly valuable.

We may assume that the Church was dedicated on 28 September, the *dies natalis* of the martyrs, who were in the memory of living men. The days of St. Paul and St. Barnabas were different, and for one or another reason the Church was not dedicated to them, but to the recent martyrs.

I have not taken account of the possibility that the seal belonged to a private person. Such seals were not nearly so large, and were generally worn on a finger ring, and were generally of some more or less precious stone or metal.

WILLIAM M. RAMSAY.

CLEOSTRATUS AND HIS WORK

DR. FOTHERINGHAM, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XLV (1925) has written a rejoinder to a criticism which I made six years ago in the same *Journal* (XLI, pp. 70–85) on his earlier article, ‘Cleostratus of Tenedos’ (1919). In this second paper Dr. Fotheringham very handsomely admits that he has been converted, not indeed so far as to embrace the—somewhat negative—views which my article expressed, but as to admit the error of at least one theory which he had himself rather confidently advanced. If I return to the controversy it is because the entire conversion of Dr. Fotheringham, whose services to the study of ancient astronomy no one values more highly than I, would be an event, in my opinion, of real importance to that neglected branch of archaeology. Moreover, now that Cleostratus has, by Dr. Fotheringham’s aid, been brought back on to the historic stage, I cannot but think it hard that he should be obliged to pose thereon in the Babylonian garments with which Dr. Fotheringham insists on investing him.

As to the passage in the *Rhesus*, 527—

Τίνος ἂ φυλακά ; τίς ἀμείβει
τὰν ἐμάν ; πρῶτα
δύεται σημεία καὶ ἐπτάποροι
Πλειάδες αἰθέριαι· μέσα δ’ Αἰετὸς οὐρανοῦ ποτᾶται,

on which so much has been said by both of us, I need not now say much more. Dr. Fotheringham seems now to admit that *σημεῖα* may, and in fact does, mean ‘stars,’ and if so I can see no reason whatever why *πρῶτα σημεία* should not mean, as the Scholiast puts it, *πρῶτα τῆς φυλακῆς*, the stars that were up when we first came on guard. Dr. Fotheringham’s belief that something more definite must be intended seems to arise simply from a misconception of the poet’s meaning. The soldiers are not presented as instructors, or even as students in astronomy, but merely as displaying that amount of acquaintance with the heavens which common people in that day did generally possess. They do not say, as a modern football team, with eyes on the pavilion clock, might exclaim, that the hour for their release from toil has just struck, they do not point out even that the star *α* Aquilæ is on the meridian. But they do perceive that the stars which caught their eye when they came on guard are disappearing, and they do notice that the group called the Eagle is high in the south, as indeed, according to Dr. Fotheringham’s own showing, it would be when the Pleiades appeared on the horizon. If their remarks lack

precision, are the statements of a similar kind in Aratus very precise? If they had been it would not have been necessary for Hipparchus to write a commentary showing how they should be amended.

But to come to more important matters. Dr. Fotheringham now writes :

‘The question of widest interest on which we differ is that of the source from which Cleostratus derived the zodiacal signs and the octaeteris. In my opinion Babylon was the source in both cases. Mr. Webb differs from me on both points.’

As regards the octaeteris, I do not myself regard the question, which can hardly be settled one way or the other, as of much interest. If I incline to think that Cleostratus did not borrow from Babylon, it is because in the first place I see no evidence that he did, and in the second because I think that by his time the Greeks had made researches of their own which might easily have conducted them to as much knowledge as is displayed in its construction. What I did, and do, find incredible is Dr. Fotheringham’s assertion that the Greek cycles, improving as they do in accuracy from age to age, are not to be considered as evidence of scientific progress, but merely as ‘exercises in the art of combining days, months, and years, of which the relative mean durations had been learned in Babylon.’ Dr. Fotheringham now endeavours to fortify this strange theory by producing ‘an instructive example of the way in which cycles were framed,’ which is provided, he thinks, ‘by the two cycles of 59 years which go by the names of Philolaus and Oenopides.’ Instructive, as I shall try to show, but not an example at all of the luni-solar cycles to which alone I referred in my previous article. They are attempts to construct a ‘Great Year,’ a period which should bring back, not sun and moon only, but the planets, to the same starting-point. And the cycle of Philolaus, which I can see no reason whatever for regarding, with Dr. Fotheringham, as the earlier of the two, is complicated by the introduction of a Pythagorean arithmetical fancy, to which we find nothing similar in the luni-solar cycles. What seems to me really instructive, from Dr. Fotheringham’s point of view, about this cycle is the extremely inaccurate estimates which Philolaus, by the constraint of his Pythagorean preconception, was obliged to assign to the month and the year. As I ventured to suggest in my earlier paper, if the mean durations had really been, as Dr. Fotheringham thinks, learned once for all by the Greeks from Babylon, one would like to be told exactly what it was they learnt.

The origin and history of the zodiacal signs, or even of the zodiacal names—which is not the same thing—cannot be adequately treated in a magazine article. I do not complain of being made to say that Babylon was not the source from which Cleostratus derived them, but I should like to point out that this was all I did say, whereas the evidence now adduced against me by Dr. Fotheringham goes only to prove that the signs, or rather the names, were originally Babylonian, not that they were borrowed all at once in so late an age as that of Cleostratus. Indeed I cannot but think that the list of names which he cites from a source supposed to be as old as the eighth century really tells strongly, not in his favour, but in mine. Even if we accept the

special pleadings¹ by which a Hireling is made out to be the same thing as a Ram, a Big Dog as a Lion, a Corn-ear as a Virgin, the fact remains that the Babylonian list is not quite the same as ours. No more is any other list quoted as ancient: no more, strange to say, are the lists in the Seleucid tablets of Hellenic age. Unless, therefore, we suppose that the Chaldaean list was never in a settled state, and that Cleostratus happened upon it in a shape which it had never worn before and never wore again, the inference must surely be that what he did was something more than merely to transfer a Babylonian scheme of names and asterisms to the Greek sphere. This inference is much strengthened by the consideration that the later Assyriologists, followed by Dr. Fotheringham, translate *Zibanitu*, the name of the seventh sign, as 'Scales,' instead of as 'Claws,' which was the earlier interpretation. For this name of 'Scales,' which was to establish itself as our *Libra* by astrological and Roman influence, was entirely unknown to the earlier Greeks, who invariably call the sign *Χηλαί*, the 'Claws' (of the Scorpion).² As Letronne urged long ago, it is incredible that anyone deliberately borrowing a zodiacal list would have contented himself with taking eleven names had there been twelve to take.

But in truth Dr. Fotheringham's citation of this list of names, as if it settled the question at once in his favour, seems to me only a proof that, like so many Assyriologists, he has not really considered what the question is. Supposing that all our names should be found in some pre-Hellenic list, yet before we could assign the invention of the zodiac to the Babylonians we should have to ascertain whether the names meant exactly what they did to the Greeks and do to us. When we speak of a 'nebula' we are translating a Greek word (*νεφέλιον*), but we do not use this word for a star-cluster, as they did. In the Greek astrology the 36 Egyptian 'decans' are incorporated as powers ruling each a third part of a sign, or 10 degrees of the ecliptic. But no one supposes that this was their original function: the mere fact that one of them was Sirius, a star far beyond the zodiacal limits, would be enough to disprove the supposition. They were perhaps originally asterisms rising at approximately equal intervals throughout the year, some no doubt in the zodiacal region, others out of it. If Egyptian names should thus appear with new meanings in Greek documents, why may not the same thing have happened to Babylonian names? It *might* be the case—I do not for a moment think it was—that

¹ For what Dr. Fotheringham might call an 'instructive example' of such pleadings I may cite an earlier attempt to supply the missing Ram to the Babylonian lists. In the old legend relating the fight between Merodach and Tiamat, or Chaos, the goddess of darkness is assisted by eleven monsters with names mostly unintelligible. But one of them was a Scorpion, and this was held enough to prove that the eleven—not twelve—helpers were the ubiquitous Signs of the Zodiac. Now another of them was a *Kusarriku*, and when it was found

that in the late Seleucid tablets the sign answering to our Aries is called *Ku*, the inference was drawn with cheerful confidence that *Ku* was short for *Kusarriku*, and consequently that *Kusarriku* meant 'Ram.' Unhappily it has turned out that *Ku* stands, not for *Kusarriku*, but for *Ku-mal*, now translated 'Hireling.'

² The earliest appearance of *Ζυγός*, in Hipparchus, is almost certainly a false reading, as the writer everywhere else uses *Χηλαί*.

Cleostratus borrowed all twelve names and assigned a new meaning, or a new constellation, to each of them.

Now the zodiac, from the time at which we first hear of it, has always been regarded as primarily the path of the sun. In this respect it differs widely from the list of moon-stations found among the Arabs, Indians, and Chinese, although, of course, many of the stars are common to both arrangements. But the two schemes belong to different stages in astronomical science, the 'lunar zodiac' requiring for its invention only intelligent star-gazing, while ours implies reflection enough to realise that the sun, like other 'planets,' moves eastward among the stars, and ingenuity enough to discover what path he takes. The Babylonians observed the planets as diligently as the moon, but whether they framed a designedly solar zodiac seems to me to be really quite unknown. Their comparative neglect of the sun, even in Hellenic times, struck Epping, the first real interpreter of Babylonian astronomy. Dr. Fotheringham appeals to Jeremias as an authority on this subject. Yet Jeremias is a scholar³ to whom the mere evidence that a Scorpion constellation existed in olden times is equivalent to a proof that it was understood to lie upon the sun's path; who will give you, as further proof of the same kind, a list in which Gemini, he thinks, is represented by Orion, Cancer by Sirius, Capricorn by Aquila, Aquarius by the Southern Fish, without perceiving that, as the one thing not represented is the sun's path, the list cannot be, in our sense, a zodiac at all.⁴

Now the zodiacal names are and were, so far back at any rate as the early fourth century, employed in two different senses. Whether both of these uses or only one, and if so which, were copied from Babylon we are seldom or never told. This, no doubt, is sometimes because the scholars who have written on the subject have themselves not understood the difference. But Dr. Fotheringham does understand, and one would like to have had his opinion upon the point.

In the first place, the names have denoted, and denote still, twelve *constellations*, groups of stars through which the sun passes successively in his annual course. But while, as a glance at the globe will show, in some of these groups, as the Bull and the Virgin, most of the stars really border the ecliptic closely on this side or that, in others, as the Lion and the Scorpion, some of the stars, and even some of the most conspicuous, spread out into distances far to the northward or southward of the tracks, not of the sun only, but of the moon and planets. A second glance, not this time at the globe, but at the sky, suggests an obvious explanation. The Lion and the Scorpion do really reveal themselves as assemblages of stars naturally grouped, which were very likely not only known but named ages before scientific astronomy began in Greece or even in Babylonia.

It is much more surprising to find that, apart from these divagations in latitude, the zodiacal constellations are, in longitudinal extent also, glaringly

³ Cf. his *Handbuch der altorientischen Geisteskultur*, 1913.

⁴ Sirius is 40°, Altair 30° from the ecliptic.

unequal. One may easily admit that in the remote age when they were introduced the task of measuring out the ecliptic into twelve equal portions may have been impossible. But no one looking at the sky can suppose that anyone ever believed the divisions actually made to have been equal, that anyone ever thought the Lion to be no longer than the Crab, or the Virgin than the Scales, or could think that the sun took the same time in traversing one as the other. An explanation is required, but I do not see that there can be any except the one already given, namely, that when the zodiac was framed many or most of the constellations existed already, and were too well known to be subjected to any considerable augmentation or diminution. Of course this means that the inventors of these constellations, whoever they were, did not regard them as zodiacal, probably not knowing, certainly not caring whether they lay upon the sun's path or not.

In my former paper I pointed out that the aspect of the heavens themselves does lend some corroboration to the statement of Pliny that Cleostratus fitted constellations (*signa*) to the zodiacal belt, 'et prima Arietis et Sagittarii,' and 'those of Aries and Sagittarius in the first place,' if we allow those words to bear their natural meaning. Dr. Fotheringham's amended interpretation, 'the first stars of Aries and Sagittarius,' seems to me little better than his former one. Not only have we to believe that 'signa' understood bears a different meaning from 'signa' expressed in the previous clause, but the suggestion rests entirely upon a foundation of scholastic guesswork, which seems to me, I confess quite unconvincing. That Pliny borrowed from Varro, Varro from Parmeniscus, Parmeniscus from Cleostratus; and that Parmeniscus misunderstood Cleostratus, while either Varro misunderstood Parmeniscus or Pliny Varro—all this, I suppose, is possible. If a fortieth-century scholar were to guess the name of the book in which Dr. Fotheringham first read about Julius Caesar, he *might* be right.

I remarked that a possible reason why Cleostratus should have attended to two regions of the zodiac first may be found in the fact that each of them contains a space void of conspicuous stars, as indeed in the case of Aries is often observed by ancient writers. Dr. Fotheringham scorns this suggestion on the ground that I make Cleostratus 'publish a series of astronomical pamphlets,' whereas 'his zodiacal constellations were certainly introduced once for all in his *Ἀστρολογία*.' I do not know, and cannot guess how Dr. Fotheringham knows, whether Cleostratus wrote more books than one, but for my purpose it is not necessary to suppose that he wrote so many as one. Improved globes, both celestial and terrestrial, have before now been published without the accompaniment of pamphlets. The 'new' constellations of the southern hemisphere found their way on to the globe, no one knows how or whence. And there are more reasons than I have yet given for thinking that Cleostratus may have found neither Ram nor Archer in the zodiacal belt. The names of Andromeda, her parents, and her lover have been given to a group of contiguous constellations in the northern sky—'northern' to a Greek meant north of the zodiac. Yet with these constellations is associated one, the Whale or Sea-monster, which lies entirely to the south of the ecliptic, though its most

northerly stars actually encroach upon the zodiacal region. Is it an accident that the part of the zodiac intervening between the Perseus group and Cetus is just that starless tract of Aries over which I have suggested that before Cleostratus no figure had been drawn? If it be an accident, surely it is curious that we have a parallel case, the only parallel, in the other zodiacal region with which Pliny connects Cleostratus. The constellation described in a magnificent passage by Milton as

Ophiuchus huge
In th' Arctic sky

is indeed so huge that it extends beyond the northern sky over the zodiacal belt, one of the Serpent-holder's feet actually crossing the ecliptic to the south. One of the zodiacal constellations is thus robbed of both space and stars, and the constellation thus robbed is Sagittarius. May we not suspect in this arrangement a surviving trace of a time in which the Serpent-holder already existed and the zodiacal Archer did not?

I could say more on this subject, but what I have said may suffice to show that, even if we consider the constellations only, the simple statement that 'Cleostratus . . . derived his zodiac from Babylon' requires some explanation.

But along with this ruder division of the zodiac into unequal *constellations* we have also the much more elaborate division into equal *signs*. According to this scheme the ecliptic, or central line of the zodiac, is measured off into twelve exactly equal parts, so that the larger constellations, as the Virgin, contain more than one whole sign, the smaller, as the Crab, less than one. In the developed Greek astronomy the risings and settings of all stars were correlated with those points of the ecliptic which rose, culminated, or set with them; and by drawing lines perpendicular to the ecliptic at intervals of thirty degrees, the whole heavens were divided into twelve equal compartments, named Ram, Bull, etc., by its position in any of which the place of every star could be fixed accurately on the celestial globe.

That this division into equal signs is later than the rough division into unequal groups must be held, if not certain, yet extremely probable. It is, as the treatise of Hipparchus shows,⁵ as old as Eudoxus in the early fourth century; and there is evidence, if not good evidence, that it goes back as far as Meton half a century earlier.⁶ Whether it was known to Cleostratus I cannot say, but if it was not, then those who make him 'derive his zodiac from Babylon' must surely infer that it was not known to the Babylonians.

But against a Babylonian tradition of the kind there are two considerations to be noted. The first is this. As everyone acquainted with astronomical usage knows, the equinoctial and solstitial points are placed at the beginnings of the signs; that is to say, the sign Aries is made to begin at the point, wherever it may be, at which the sun crosses the equator on his northward journey, the sign Cancer ninety degrees further eastward along the ecliptic, at the point

⁵ I am glad to see that Dr. Fotheringham appreciates this point, which has been missed even by careful writers.

⁶ At any rate people like Columella thought so.

where the sun attains his greatest distance north of the equator. So familiar has this arrangement become that to most people who have not busied themselves with the subject—and, strange to say, even to many who have—it is not known that any other arrangement ever existed or could exist. The assumption that, in Dr. Fotheringham's words, 'the vernal equinox was the starting-point . . . of the Babylonian zodiac,' has apparently not been thought to require any sort of verification. Yet this assumption rests upon no historical basis whatever. We make the sign Aries begin at the equinoctial point because Ptolemy did. Ptolemy in so doing was following the example of his predecessor Hipparchus. Hipparchus tells us that most of his own forerunners put the points, as he did, at the beginnings of the signs, but he mentions another, perhaps earlier, arrangement, according to which the signs were shifted backward so that the points came not at their beginnings, but in their middles. Later on yet another arrangement was quite common, the one adopted by the framers of the Julian calendar, in which the points were placed at the eighth degree of each sign, so that the sun entered Aries some seven days before the equinox, and Cancer about a week before the solstice. And we hear of other arrangements, such as placing the points at the tenth degrees, but we had, I believe, no example of their use until they were found in the Babylonian tablets of the Greek period. That the ancient Babylonians employed our usage is pure conjecture, while there is actual evidence that recent Babylonians did not.

The second consideration is this. So universal, and now so ancient, is the practice of heading the list of zodiacal names with Aries that most people, as in the former case, have no suspicion that it ever did, or could, begin anywhere else. Yet here again we are simply following Ptolemy's practice, and in this case Ptolemy's practice was not that of Hipparchus, nor—so far as we know—of Hipparchus' forerunners. I am glad to find that I misunderstood Dr. Fotheringham on this point, and that he fully agrees with me about Hipparchus, who undoubtedly began his list, not at the equinox with Aries, but at the solstice with Cancer. So too does Aratus, so does the calendar in Geminus; in fact, but for the obstinate assumption that the zodiacal scheme was taken over from Babylon, where the year began in the spring, we have absolutely no reason for supposing that Cleostratus or his immediate successors ever thought of putting the equinoctial sign first. If Babylon is in any way concerned in the bringing of Aries to the front, is it not, indirectly, through the comparatively late influence of astrology?

And this brings me to an argument which I cannot but think by itself fatal to Dr. Fotheringham's assertion that during the sixth century B.C. Babylonian astronomical knowledge was 'streaming into' Greece. We know that modern discoveries have confirmed the ancient tradition that Babylonia was the home of astrology. We know that when, after Alexander's opening of the East, teachers of astrology arrived in Greece, they found men's minds only too receptive of their false but tempting lore. Is it not then marvellous that the sixth-century astronomical stream should have contained no admixture whatever of astrological doctrine? Yet so it must have been: of astrology in

the earlier Greek astronomical writers there are no traces whatever, while we find many indications that their contemporaries knew of it little or nothing. To quote only one well-known instance : when the Prometheus of Aeschylus is enumerating his gifts to man, he passes on from astronomy to divination of various kinds. But of divination by the stars he says not a word.

It would take up too much space here to enlarge on the argument from astrology, to ask why, if the zodiac was to the Babylonians what it is to us, their tablets do not supply abundant traces of the zodiacal astrology which has come down to us from Greece, to point out that in Manilius ⁷ and elsewhere we seem to find reminiscences of a time when the signs, if we may still call them so, must have been treated as divisions of the equator rather than of the ecliptic. But I may at least point out how ill the history of astrology fits in with Dr. Fotheringham's strange theory—strange, but I think to his argument necessary—that the later Greeks were ashamed of their debt to Babylon, and concealed it—from one another apparently—as well as they could. Astrologers certainly would not have observed this reticence : they knew well that, if their science were to be made to seem plausible, the observations on which it was supposed to rest must pretend to be ancient : and in fact we have stories of Chaldaean records going back for hundreds of thousands of years. Wise astrologers—and there were such people—knew that these records, if they had ever existed, existed no longer, and must have been grateful for any evidence which could link their science to that of the ancient sages whose wisdom they claimed to inherit. An event so epoch-making to them as the first reception by the Greeks of the zodiac would have been, could hardly have escaped mention if it had really been on record, as, if it happened in the time of Cleostratus, it ought to have been. And that it was not on record there is at any rate other negative evidence.

To account for the origin of their star-names the Greeks related many stories, most of which have certainly no historical basis, and indeed no doubt came first into existence without the slightest reference to anything visible in the skies. But this does not prevent their having, negatively at least, an historical value. When we find an ancient entrenchment known as 'the Devil's Dyke,' we may infer with certainty that the people who gave the name did not know when or how it was digged. So when we hear that the Dragon and the Crab were beatified beasts which had met a painful death in the discharge of their duty, we may be sure that no authentic account of the date when, and the reason why, their names were given to these star-groups was known. Now some of these stories are as old as Aratus, probably therefore as Eudoxus, and the people who told them in later times believed them all to be ancient. Yet stories of the same kind are told of all the constellations whether zodiacal or not : the Lion and the Bull, which we are to believe were borrowed from Babylon at the end of the sixth century, are treated just in the same way as the Bear, which was certainly known to the Greeks as early as Homer. It is surely curious that the beautiful story of the Virgin in Aratus should be

⁷ Cf. Manilius, III. 218 *sqq.*, and III. 483 *sqq.*

related of a lady who, say Assyriologists, 'is of course Astarte,'⁸ that Ishtar whom the Greeks identified with their Aphrodite. There was another claimant in Greek legend to be the original of the zodiacal Virgin, and this latter heroine, Erigone, is the invariable selection of the astrologer Manilius, whom one would have supposed more likely than anyone to preserve a Babylonian tradition. But her story is even more un-Babylonian than that of the righteous goddess in Aratus.

I pointed out in my former paper that Pliny's informants, who according to Dr. Fotheringham were successively Varro, Parmeniscus, and Cleostratus himself, clearly did not make him understand that the origin of the zodiac was to be looked for anywhere but in Greece. The well-known passage⁹ in which a greater than Pliny, Seneca, speaks of the Greeks as numbering and naming the stars makes no exception of the zodiacal list. Nor does that notable passage in Achilles,¹⁰ which says distinctly that the constellations of the Egyptian and Chaldaean spheres were not the same as ours. All this has always made it hard to believe that any deliberate borrowing on a large scale took place as lately as 520 B.C. And surely Dr. Fotheringham's investigations go to make it appear harder still. Not only does he make it clear that a poem by Cleostratus survived into Alexandrian times, but he is apparently able to assure us that in this one poem was contained all the information about his work that Cleostratus gave. Yet its Greek readers do not seem to have found as much of Babylonian tradition in the whole poem as Dr. Fotheringham in the half-sentence which survives of it.

I am well aware that in all this I have merely touched, not answered, the question how those zodiacal names came to us which, through the influence of astrology, have become familiar to thousands who have had but the vaguest ideas as to what they mean. I shall be content if I have persuaded my readers that the assertion, 'Cleostratus derived his zodiac from Babylon,' is by no means so simple as it sounds; and that anyone making it ought to enlighten us considerably as to its meaning. Does it mean—

That Cleostratus borrowed twelve names only, giving them a new application?

Or that he borrowed, not only names, but with them twelve constellations to which they applied?

Or that he borrowed not only names and star-groups, but also the figures traced thereon, and still shown on globes?

Or that he borrowed not only names, groups, and figures, but also the method of employing equal ecliptic divisions which rose to such importance in Greek astronomy and in the mathematical astrology of the Greeks?

That so many people should apparently have thought an affirmative answer to the first question equivalent to an affirmative answer to all is easily explained by the consideration that many people, as I have before remarked, have known the zodiacal names without knowing, or apparently caring to know, what they

⁸ Sayce in *Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.*, Vol. III.
1874.

⁹ Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.*, vii. 25.

¹⁰ Maass, *Comment. in Arat.*, p. 75.

mean. Dr. Fotheringham is not one of these people. But his attitude towards the questions that I have suggested can only be guessed at by a very rash statement that 'of all the zodiacal constellations the Twins and the Scorpion alone suggest by their appearance the figures which have been found in them.' This, of course, is a statement of opinion only, and to me seems merely an illustration of a curious fact—that the last person to understand the star-gazer is often the astronomer.

E. J. WEBB.

MINOAN FAYENCE IN MESOPOTAMIA

IN my forthcoming publication of the Rhind Lectures, 1923, on *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* I have briefly referred (pp. 225-6) to the remarkable discovery by Dr. Walter Andrae for the *Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft*, at Kala'at Sharkat, the site of the ancient Assyrian city of Ashur, on the Tigris, of a series of objects in fayence not only of precisely the same type as the remarkable fayence vases and other objects found by the British Museum excavators at Enkomi and Maroni in Cyprus,¹ but some of them, one would think, made by the same hand. These Assyrian objects were among those brought back to England from Mesopotamia after the war, and finally assigned to the British Museum, when eventually a division was made of the whole between London and Berlin. Before this division was effected I had recognized



FIG. 1—ASHUR (ANDRAE): 116359.

these particular fayence objects as the counterparts of those already in the British Museum from Enkomi, and Dr. Andrae and I, after I had pointed out the fact to him on a visit made by him to London, agreed that we should publish them separately, he as their discoverer in their context in his full publication of his finds, I in order to emphasize their identity with the Enkomi finds and their Minoan character. I have therefore referred to them in my Rhind Lectures, as above, and in my chapter in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii. p. 430; and they have also been mentioned and two of them illustrated in Mr. Sidney Smith's recent *Early History of Assyria*, Pl. XXII *a* and *b*. I now publish the evidence in full. They include the detachable top of a vase of definitely Minoan type (Fig. 5 = *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, Fig. 299), and a woman's head cup (Fig. 1 = *C.G.B.A.*, Fig. 300) so similar to one from Enkomi, even in the smallest details (cf. Fig. 2 = *C.G.B.A.*, Fig. 297), as to leave no doubt that it came from the same workshop, possibly from the hands of the same potter.

¹ Enkomi: Murray, Smith and Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 22, Pl. III. Maroni unpublished.

It has always been assumed that the Enkomi fayence was native, and Minoan or Mycenaean. This conclusion seems justified by the appearance of its glaze, which resembles that of the Knossian Snake-goddesses and the objects accompanying them much more closely than it does any Egyptian glaze. The art of their modelling, too, has nothing whatever Egyptian about it, and could well be Minoan-Mycenaean. Although the coiffures of the women in the woman-head rhytons are not otherwise known to us, we must allow for possible differences in fashion in different places and at different times, for the Enkomi fayence must in any case be three or more centuries later than that from Knossos, which is Third Middle Minoan; in M.M. III. it is not supposed that Minoans had yet reached Cyprus.



FIG. 2.—ENKOMI: 97.4-1.875, 1211, 831.

The discovery of an identical fayence in Assyria might raise the question whether the Enkomi fayence is not in reality Assyrian, imported into Cyprus. We know as a matter of fact that the Assyrians and Babylonians were in later times masters of polychrome fayence decoration.² We have only to examine

² On the whole subject see Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur* (1923), p. 1 ff. The use of glaze paint (*Schmelzfarbenmalerei*) succeeded at Ashur polychrome wall-painting of the usual kind, which we find in use in the thirteenth century B.C., in Kar-Tukulti-Enurta, the palace of Tukulti-Enurta I. (circa 1260-1238 B.C.). 'Als man diesen Schmuck in Schmelzfarben auf den gebrannten Ziegel, auf die irdene Fliese und endlich als Relief auf die Gipsstein- und Alabasterplatte übertrug, tat man es zweifellos in der Absicht, ihn dauerhafter zu machen. Die Schmelzfarbenkunst, die für kleine Gegenstände und Schmuckstücke schon Jahrtausende vorher in Übung war, wurde etwa um 1100 v. Chr. nach der Erfindung der Zinnglasur immer fleissiger für den Bauschmuck herangezogen, und bürgte für die grösstmögliche Haltbarkeit der Farben.'

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Was wir von der Malerei der Assyrier wie der Babylonier wissen, verdanken wir zum weitaus grössten Teile Erzeugnissen der Schmelzfarbenkunst, die sich bis auf unsere Tage manchmal noch in der einstigen feurigen Leuchtkraft erhalten haben, aber auch in ihrer abgeblassten Patina oft noch genussreiche Wirkungen bewahren' (p. 4). Various styles of glaze were employed, a speciality being an inlay of coloured glazes in regular *cloisons* with thin line-walls of hard glaze. The colours used were often extraordinarily strong and deep; the glaze thick and heavy at times (especially later). The only work like it in Egypt was that of the XXth Dynasty at Tell el-Yahūdiyah (1200 B.C.). At other times the design was most delicately drawn in the coloured glaze, and most carefully fired.

the glazed bricks from Nimrūd (Calah) and from Ashur of the ninth century B.C. with coloured scenes of kings, warriors, and chariots in the British Museum to realize this. We see what the Babylonians could do in the sixth century in Nebuchadrezzar's splendid enamelled polychrome brick with its bulls and dragons in relief on the Ishtar Gate at Babylon; and we see the further Persian activity of this artistic tradition in the famous Frieze of the Archers from Susa, in the Louvre. In pottery we have Mesopotamian glazed ware going back from the sugary blue of the Parthian period to certain characteristic polychrome types of the first millennium B.C., point-based unguent-vases with chevrons and parallel lines and bands in blue and brown glaze, which are of the same type as the point-based fayence pots with chevrons, lines, squares, and spots of coarse blue, green, white, and brown glaze found at Kameiros in Rhodes and as far away as Sicily and Italy, of which there is a good collection in the British Museum.³ These look very much as if they were imitated from polychrome glass. These pots have often been considered to be Phoenician, but I have no recollection of any publication of such as having been found in Phoenicia.

It is more likely that they are all Babylonian, imported far west in the Mediterranean area. Layard at Nimrūd and Andrae at Ashur found other smaller round-based vases with somewhat similar but less coarse designs in polychrome fayence, which, like the examples of 'Enkomi' type, are in the British Museum. Several of these have lily-petal designs.⁴ It would seem that these also are Mesopotamian. They are dated by the discoverer from about 900 till after 700 B.C.;⁵ the 'Enkomi' type from about 1250 to 1100 B.C.⁶ With these last go other small polychrome vessels in glazed pottery, not fayence. In the thirteenth century we have no Mesopotamian fayence examples, unless these 'Enkomi' pots are Mesopotamian. Yet we have apparently Egyptian testimony to the fact that the Assyrian made polychrome fayence in the fifteenth century in an inscription of Thutmosis III. (1501—1447 B.C.), in whose reign the 'Chief of Ashur' sent, besides lapis, 'Assyrian vessels of many colours,' which we may reasonably assume to have been of polychrome fayence.⁷ And Mr. Woolley has found at Ur a human mask⁸ (not from a vase but intended to be attached to a flat surface), of fayence, dating probably from the time of the Isin and Larsa Kings (c. 2000 B.C.), which, if not strictly speaking polychrome, shows the first signs of polychromy. Its glaze is not the ordinary blue, but a yellow turned brown, and the eyebrows were originally inlaid with a blackish substance, either bitumen or possibly glaze. So far as

³ There are also examples in the Louvre well published in colour by Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, III, Pl. V.

⁴ Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur*, p. 19, Pl. XVII. (illustrations in colour). The magnificent vase A. 7791, illustrated by Andrae, *loc. cit.*, Pl. XX, is of the same type and style on a larger scale.

⁵ Dr. Andrae writes to me as follows as to their date:—'die kleinen Flaschen mit

Wellen und petalartiger Verzierung kommen vielfach in jung- und spätassyrischen Grabern vor und wir setzen sie in die Zeit nach 700; sie können aber auch schon 100 oder 200 Jahre früher beginnen.'

⁶ See below, p. 67; and note ¹⁰ following.

⁷ S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, p. 227.

⁸ U 6820; at present unpublished (*Anti-quaries' Journal*, vi. (1926), p. 371).

knowledge of glaze and glass is concerned, the Mesopotamian may go back a considerable distance, since ordinary blue glaze was in use at Ur for mural decoration as well as pots as early as the Third Dynasty (c. 2300 B.C.), and I found a piece of blue glass (definitely identified as such by Mr. Horace Beck, F.S.A.) in a house at Abu Shahrain (Eridu) that was older than the time of King Bur-Sin of the Third Dynasty of Ur, who laid a brick pavement above it. Glass in Egypt is no older, if as old; but glaze is probably older, having been known in the pre-dynastic period, though we have Babylonian glazed beads as early as c. 3000 B.C. or earlier, from the 'A' cemetery at Kish.⁹

Polychrome glaze in Egypt (in colour other than the stereotyped blue with decoration in manganese black that had hitherto prevailed, and with the fiery reds and yellows characteristic of Assyrian glaze, and with greens and violets unknown either to Assyria or to Crete) is no older than the time of Thutmosis III, if so old: it is first commonly used in the time of Amenhotep III. (c. 1412-1376 B.C.). In Greece the Minoan polychrome glaze from Knossos is of the M.M. III. period, dating not later than c. 1600 B.C., and is possibly older, so that Mesopotamia and Crete may dispute the honour of having communicated polychromy to Egypt; and I am by no means indisposed to allow that the Cretan polychromy may have been of Mesopotamian origin. So we might be inclined to claim the Ashur examples of 'Enkomi' style as Assyrian, and the exactly similar objects found at Enkomi as of Assyrian origin, imported into Cyprus. But the vase-top of definitely Minoan Cretan, completely un-Mesopotamian, type, found at Ashur (Fig. 5), would of itself be enough to deny this proposition, and if we look at the other objects in both finds we shall, I think, see that a Minoan-Mycenaean origin is the only possible for both. We also have to take into account two other fayence objects, both from 'Iraq, which have been in the British Museum since the days of Layard, and are of the same non-Mesopotamian and Aegean type (Figs. 3 and 8). There are, however, other objects of fayence from Enkomi that are probably imitations of Assyrian originals, as there are, again, others that are definitely imitations of Egyptian types.

The Ashur find, so far as objects of presumably Minoan fayence are concerned, consists of the woman's head cup No. 116359 (Ashur excavations number S. 20233; Fig. 1) found in the Ishtar temple, and dating probably from the time of Tukulti-Enurta I. (c. 1260-1238 B.C.); the vase-top (neck and mouth) No. 116360 (S. 20176; Fig. 5), also from the Ishtar temple and of the time of Tukulti-Enurta I; two spouted cups (Fig. 6), Nos. 116361 (15276d) and 116362 (15276a), from an ancient house, dated provisionally c. 1200-1100 B.C.; and a plain saucer or small cup (Fig. 9a), No. 116374 (20474d), from a deep hole filled with broken pottery and burnt debris in the archaic

⁹ Mackay, *Report on the 'A' Cemetery at Kish*, p. 55. Cf. Andrae, *loc. cit.*, p. 17; *Die archaische Ishtar-Tempel in Assur*, p. 82, Fig. 61c; S. Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 333. The peculiar kind of glass objects made in Assyria in the eighth-seventh centuries B.C., mentioned by Mr. Smith, *ibid.*, is

exactly paralleled by the *kyanos* or 'vitreous paste' (really simply glass) used for beads, etc. by the Minoans five centuries earlier. The Egyptians never used glass in this particular form till quite late times. Here perhaps we have a Minoan invention taken up in Mesopotamia but not in Egypt.

Ishtar-temple. These are the only Ashur objects that I would definitely identify as of the Enkomi type.¹⁰

The identity of the woman's-head cup with the Enkomi examples, especially with 97.4-1.875, Fig. 2a (*Excavations in Cyprus*, Pl. III.), is obvious. The hairdressing in a net behind and over the forehead is the same as in Fig. 2a, and the characteristic roll over the ear, the top of which is covered, is the same in both cases, though larger in the Enkomi head. The Ashur vase is imperfect both above and below; there can be no doubt that it was when whole exactly like the Enkomi vases. The head is better modelled in the



FIG. 3.—WARKA (LOFTUS): 91616.

Ashur example, which with its double chin is very naturalistic, but the hair of the Enkomi example (Fig. 2b; *Excavations in Cyprus*, Fig. 61 (97.4-1.1211) = *Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. XXII) is more naturalistically treated, and its face is more of the Ashur type than are the two others. The same full eye characterizes all the heads. The size is the same, approximately; height 9 cm. for the incomplete Ashur example, and 15 to 18 cm. for the three from Enkomi. The glaze of the Ashur vase has suffered: originally the face was white with the eyes picked out in brown, and the head and head-dress

¹⁰ Dr. Andrae kindly gives me the following information as to their dates:—'die von Ihnen genannten Nummern gehören zwei verschiedenen Fundgruppen an: 20176 und das Frauenkopfschen 20233 stammen aus dem Ishtar-Tempel in Assur und ich halte sie für einen Teil seines Inhaltes aus der Zeit der Tukulti-Ninurta I. Darüber berichte ich genauer in dem schon fast zum Druck fertigen Band der

Wiss. Veröff. der D. O. G. [*Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft: Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen*]. Die 15276-Sachen sind ein Grabfund aus einem altassyrischen Hause in Assur, das wir am 1200 bis 1100 anzusetzen geneigt waren.' That is to say, they came from a burial, supposed to be not older than c. 1200 B.C., beneath the floor of a house in the usual Mesopotamian fashion.

brown, as in the Enkomi vase 97.4-1.875: this has turned yellow, as also has that of the Enkomi vase mentioned, whereas Enkomi 97.4-1.831 (Fig. 2c),¹¹ of which the foot is restored, has retained its brilliant colour—white, brown, and blue. The Ashur cup is made in the same way as those from Enkomi, with the hollow foot. Like two of those from Enkomi, but unlike the third (1211), it has not got the two perforated semi-circular ledges just within the mouth which were used for the fastening of a lid.

Of the same type, but inferior in style, is the portion of a man's face in



FIG. 4.—ENKOMI: 97.4-1.1318.

polychrome fayence, Brit. Mus. 91616 (Fig. 3), measuring 9 cm. in length, which has been published by Mr. Sidney Smith in his *Early History of Assyria*, Pl. XXIIa. It is said to have been found at Warka (Erech) in Babylonia by Loftus, and came into the Museum in 1856. It is of the same kind of fayence and of the same colour, with hair indicated in a thick, yellow-brown (originally darker) mass over the forehead separated by indentations into separate locks, the nose and eyebrows all in one piece, and the eyebrows almost as high in relief as the nose; with disproportionately large full eyes and a very small mouth. Not enough of it is left to tell us whether it is part of a vase like the Ashur head, but there is a hole in the top at the back which looks as if it may have been intended for a peg or nail to attach it to another surface, so that it may not be a cup at all but a mask like the head from Ur referred

¹¹ Not in *Excavations in Cyprus*; first XXII. = *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze* published, Hall, *Aegean Archaeology*, Pl. Age, Fig. 297.

to above (p. 66).¹² Its relationship, however, to the Enkomi cups is evident; there is enough of it to show us that it is probably Minoan. Its very discrepancies are Minoan, of the more summary kind. We may compare with it the well-known relief head of painted stucco found at Mycenae and often illustrated (see Bossert, *Altkreta*,² Fig. 249; = *C.G.B.A.*, Fig. 349),¹³ which it much resembles, especially in the characteristic treatment of the nose and eyebrows. Also the painted pottery head found by the Swedes at Asine, published by Frödin in the *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 25, 1926, p. 548, may appositely be compared: it had the same long visage, small mouth, enormous eyes, and strongly-marked brows, though these do not meet with so marked a junction. The glaze of the Warka head is the same as that of the Enkomi heads. Its similarity in style and glaze to the Ashur head was pointed out to Mr. Sidney Smith by Mr. R. L. Hobson, and Mr. Smith has rightly claimed that it belongs to the same group as the Ashur and Enkomi heads: I claim it as even more definitely Minoan in style than they.

And yet it was found at Warka. There are undeniably Babylonian touches about it. The big eye and the high orbital ridges meeting above the nose are undeniably Babylonian: this meeting of the eyebrows is well seen in the late-Sumerian statues of the Gudea period.¹⁴ But generally its effect is non-Babylonian, especially in the shape of the face and the mouth. On this account I think it more likely to be an imported Cyprian object than a local imitation. Do we see in this meeting of the eyebrows another of the occasional resemblances (and perhaps connexions) between Babylonian and Minoan style?

Now among various hitherto unpublished objects from Enkomi in the British Museum Mr. Forsdyke has found a fragment, 7.6 cm. high, of another fayence cup of the same shape originally as the woman's-head cups, but with decoration in the form of (probably) three female faces in relief (Fig. 4), judging by the curve of the cup in this fragment (97.4-1.1318), which shows a single face. The resemblance that I noted on first seeing it to our Warka face springs to the eye. There is the same 'Babylonian' treatment of the eyebrow-ridges joining above and with the vase, the same long wedge-like nose, the same small mouth and large eyes. The long face, again, is Minoan, not Mesopotamian. A difference between this and the other representations is in the hair, which the curious rectangular striated frame round the face is intended to represent. It is not a head-dress that is intended, but hair over the forehead and hanging in a long curl on either side of the face between the cheek and the ears. The colour of 1318 that remains is brownish-yellow.

The vase-top from Ashur, No. 116360 (Fig. 5) measures 8.7 cm. high by 8.3 cm. in diameter. Its glaze was blue and yellow, possibly also brown:

¹² This Ur mask is not claimed as being in any way non-Mesopotamian. Though it has huge eyes, the face is typically Babylonian, with its full cheeks and larger mouth; quite different from the typically Minoan faces of the other heads here described.

¹³ Athens Museum. 'Tsountas, 'Εφην. 'Αρχ. 1902, Pl. I.

¹⁴ Cf. King, *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 268 (*Statue of Gudea*); Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, in. Pl. VII.

the colour has now mostly gone. It is not broken off from a vase, but is a separate piece that fitted into the body of the vase. It is without question a Minoan object. Its idea is Minoan, since vases made in separate portions

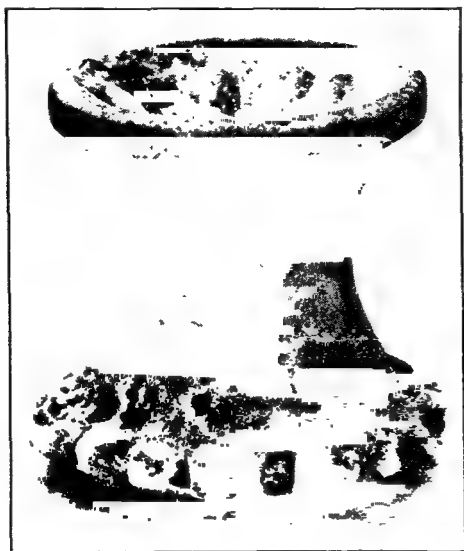


FIG. 5.—ASHUR (ANDRAE): 116360.

fitting into each other were characteristic of Minoan (and Egyptian) manufacture, whether in stone or fayence. Its lines are those of the splendid stone vases found at Knossos: it is in the best Cretan style.¹⁵ Its collar of



FIG. 6.—ASHUR (ANDRAE): 116361, 116362.

twenty cogs jutting out round the base of the neck is Minoan enough in appearance: in any case a collar in such a position is characteristically Minoan. The ten embossed petals or lobes within the mouth, reproducing metal embossing, are a typically Minoan idea. There is nothing that is

¹⁵ For examples see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, ii. Fig. 129.

Mesopotamian about this object and everything that is Minoan. It is the upper part of a Minoan fayence filler or conical vase exported from Cyprus to Assyria.

We have next the two beak-spouted cups (*Schnabelvasen*), Nos. 116361, 116362, from Ashur (Fig. 6), which are of the same type as one from Maroni, 98.12-1.214 (Fig. 7a). The Ashur examples measure respectively 9.7 cm. high by 13.5 cm. diameter over all, and 5.5 cm. high by 9.6 cm. diameter over all; the Maroni example 7 cm. high by 11.5 cm. diameter over all. The larger specimen from Ashur is of coarser type and glaze than the other, which is the exact counterpart of that from Maroni, save that the incurved lip is proportionately not so wide and more like that of the larger Ashur cup, which also has a raised rim round the lip. The colour of the glaze differs: the Maroni example being monochrome pale blue, No. 116362 originally pale blue (now faded to a silver-grey where it is left), with a dark brown lip, No. 116361 originally blue with traces of brown (?). Another, coarser example from Enkomi (97.4-1.1438), with brown badly preserved glaze, 4 cm. by 9 cm., is illustrated in Fig. 7b.

With these beak-spouted cups goes another (No. 92078) very fine specimen¹⁶ found in Assyria, probably at Kala'at Sharkat (Ashur), by Layard in 1848 (Fig. 8). It is polychrome, of precisely the same glaze as the Enkomi objects, pale blue without, with base-ring and rim and spout brown, and yellow within. The glaze and its colour are perfectly preserved, unlike those of the Ashur object. It measures 10.2 cm. in diameter by 4 cm. in height. The lip is slightly damaged in one place.

These spouted cups are also found at Enkomi (97.4-1.857, 1214) with polychrome (blue and brown) petals in relief on the sides. No examples of the petalled type have been found in Assyria, although the petal was a common decoration on the later polychrome glaze vases mentioned above (p. 66), and No. 1214 has a very Assyrian look, so far as design is concerned.

No. 92078 has on its outer brown band immediately below the lip two parallel incised lines. This we see also on the plain spoutless saucer or cup from Enkomi, 97.4-1.1437 (Fig. 9b), which is the same in shape as No. 116374, from Ashur (Fig. 9a): this, however, has not the incised lines beneath the lip. The glaze of 116374 is plain yellow, within and without; the Enkomi saucer is blue without, yellow within. 116374 measures 3.75 by 8.4 cm.; 1437 is 3.5 cm. by 9.5 cm., in height and diameter respectively. Others, not illustrated, of much the same type from Enkomi are: 97.4-1.1215; h. 4.2 cm., d. 10 cm.; blue outside and yellow within, with the two incised lines beneath the lip outside, which is brown; 1048, much the same; h. 4.5 cm., d. 10.5 cm.; 1049, which has a yellow lip with black spots, and no incised lines; h. 3 cm., d. 9.5 cm. Of these, 1050 and 1215 have base-rings, like 92078: the others, not, like 116374.

The evidence seems to me to show that the objects found at Ashur are Minoan, and imported probably from Cyprus, where we can assume that they were made by the same potters who made the similar Cyprian objects.

¹⁶ S. Smith, *Early Hist. Assyria*, Pl. XXIIb.



FIG. 7.—MARONI: 98.12-1.214. ENKOMI: 97.4-1.1438.



FIG. 8.—ASHUR ? (LAYARD): 92078.

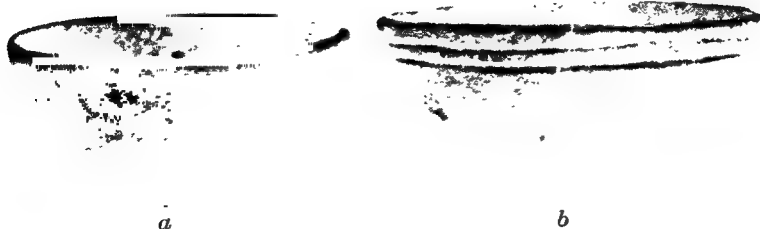


FIG. 9.—ASHUR (ANDRAE): 116374. ENKOMI: 97.4-1.1437.

They date at earliest to about 1250 B.C. This would seem to date the Enkomi objects. Things of this kind would hardly be preserved in use for very long, and so are not likely to have reached Assyria before the middle of the thirteenth century. Nor are they likely to have been made in Cyprus much earlier. So that the related objects found in Cyprus must be of about the same date: their identity with the Ashur finds is so definite that they can hardly be any older. They are found in several tombs at Enkomi and Maroni, some of which contain Mycenaean objects of the preceding century or even a little earlier. The Enkomi tombs were constantly re-used, as we see by this appearance in them of objects which we know from other evidence are of various dates. But it seems evident that this peculiar group of fayence objects in them can be dated on the Assyrian evidence with probability to the earlier half of the thirteenth century B.C., contemporary with the XIXth Dynasty and the reign of Rameses II. in Egypt. I hope, however, to publish a study of this fayence, and of the Egyptian objects found at Enkomi, shortly, in which the question of date will be more carefully examined than is possible in the present article, which is intended primarily to show the identity of some of the Ashur fayence and other objects of the same type from Mesopotamia with that of Enkomi and Maroni, and to adduce arguments for its Minoan and presumably Cyprian origin.¹⁷

H. R. HALL.

¹⁷ Of the illustrations to this paper Figs. 1, 2, and 5 are reproduced by permission of Messrs. Methuen from *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, and Fig. 3 by permission of Mr. Sidney Smith and Messrs.

Chatto and Windus from Mr. Smith's *Early History of Assyria*. I have to thank Mr. H. B. Walters for permission to publish the objects from Enkomi.

THE GREEK DRAMA IN CRETE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

I

IN the history of Greek literature, as regarded by the general reader, there are two remarkable intermissions. The first occurs when ancient Greek literature comes to an end with Lucian in the second century after Christ; or perhaps when the hexameter itself begins to dissolve in the hands of Nonnus in the fourth. The second break naturally follows when Byzantine literature is cut short by the fall of Constantinople in 1453—after which it is commonly and wrongly supposed that hardly a Greek put pen to paper, save in the way of commerce or grammar, until the revolutionary songs of Regas heralded the revival at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is, however, one of the fascinations of Greek studies that they introduce us to a language that can be traced in an unbroken descent from Homer to the present day: and wherever the Greek language has been spoken the art of literature has never quite perished, though its traces are sometimes rather faint and its beauties rare. But for the complete study of a language second-rate authors must not be neglected where masterpieces are few and far between. Unfortunately it is only in the last fifty years that scholars have turned their attention to publication of the obscure works that carry on the literary tradition from Byzantium to modern Greece. Of these authors 'of the Turkish period' the learned Sophocles, in the introduction to his *Lexicon*, remarks (1860): 'It is unnecessary to inform the reader here that, with very few exceptions, they are beneath criticism.'¹ Even to-day, with the revival of medieval and modern Greek studies of which the Koraes Chair is a notable testimony, the example of Professor Marshall in the publication of medieval Greek manuscripts is not sufficiently emulated. I cannot help thinking that too many scholars devote their energies to recording in phonetic script every possible variety of local mispronunciation. Thanks, however, to the labours of Sathas and Legrand at the end of last century, enough texts are available to enable us to study in its main outlines the post-Byzantine descent of Greek literature. Not the least surprising incident in that descent is a group of Greek plays, which make their appearance in Crete at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries.

II

The descent of Greek literature from Byzantium to modern Greece was a process in which the broad stream, already beginning to run rather shallow,

¹ Cf. A. R. Rangabé, *Histoire de la Littérature Néo-Hellénique* (1877), ' . . . de grossiers produits d'ignorance et de mauvais goût' . . . and the ironical remarks of Koraes about the *Erotokritos*.

was broken up into a number of small channels. In the mountains, on the borders of the Empire, and on the Greek mainland an unbroken line of folk-songs was carried on throughout the Turkish period until out of them arose the Epirote literary revival which preceded the Revolution. The Byzantine street-song, as well as the ballad sung by the wardens of the Marches on the frontiers, had fallen naturally into the fifteen-syllable ballad metre :—

‘ In Scarlet town where I was born there was a fair maid dwellin’ — ’

a metre that comes so naturally to European lips that it may still be found on the broadsheets sold in the street by the unemployed ex-service man.² This form, the so-called *political verse* (meaning common or *bourgeois*), was adopted by the learned writers and court poets : at first perhaps because they were glad to recognise in it the iambic tetrameter catalectic which could be found in the ancient dramatists : afterwards no doubt because it was perfectly suited to the genius of the Greek vernacular. It was taken up by the writers of Romance, descendants of the earlier Greek novelists, who now began to write their stories of adventure in political verse instead of in iambs or in prose. Both these elements, courtly and romantic, dispersed in the islands at the end of the fifteenth century, had a fertilising influence on the compositions of the people ; but themselves received, from the culture of the Franks there established, a stronger stimulus from Italy and France than any they were able to transmit to their own countrymen. Rhyme was added to their verse and chivalry to their romance, and courtiers wrote love-poems that were frankly modelled on popular ballads. Meanwhile, however, something entirely new was arising out of the social conditions : a literature which was not inspired by the heroic border, by the court, or by the illiterate life of the mountains, but which seemed to be written for an educated middle class. The new society naturally demanded a form of entertainment which had been almost extinct at Constantinople as it had been in Imperial Rome—a serious Drama. At Constantinople there had been a meagre output of

² Leake (*Researches in Greece*, p. 100) actually suggests that ‘ the measure of our old English ballads originated, in all probability, among the Greeks ’ (cf. also Tozer, *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, Vol. II. p. 251, quoting Dr. Guest, *History of English Rhythms*). He was presumably thinking of the English ‘fourteener,’ which is the nearest thing in English to the Greek ‘political,’ as the ‘fifteener’ or ‘political’ in English too easily breaks up into two lines (partly because English is less polysyllabic). The ‘fourteener’ in English has much the same defects and beauties as the Greek ‘political.’ Compare especially Chapman’s translation of Homer and Saintsbury’s remarks, *History of English Prosody*, Vol. II. pp. 108 ff. The ‘fourteener’ becomes a ‘political’ when

it requires a double rhyme : e.g. the apprentices’ song in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* :

‘ And let it nere be said for shame, that we,
the youths of London,
Lay thrumming of our caps at home, and
left our custom undone.’

Or the Elizabethan popular poem, *Sir Martin Mar-peole* (1590) :

‘ Such partial judgments in the Judge for
whom the Judge do favour,
Such justice judge and judgments too,
doth of injustice savour.’

But note that the ‘political’ being syllabic as well as accentual cannot drop a final syllable as easily as the English ‘fourteener’ can acquire one.

theological exercises and symbolic dialogues more or less imbedded in the Liturgy; but the serious theatre had been to such an extent overwhelmed by circuses, races and revues that even the Greek names, as we know, of tragedy, drama and comedy, had disappeared or lost their meaning.³ But in a Greek society imbued with Italian culture and subsidised by Western commerce a serious theatre was a necessity, and native poets soon learned to produce plays for a serious audience, plays which, although they are frankly inspired by Italian models, are none the less genuine products of the Greek spirit.

III

Crete had been thrown in when Boniface of Montferrat sold his perquisites to the Venetians in 1204. The Cretans are commonly said to have been in a state of revolution for 700 years; and the Venetian period added a respectable number of tumults to the annals of Cretan insurgence. Genoese adventurers, Venetian merchants, orthodox ecclesiastics and Jews, Greek *ἀρχοντόπουλοι* and Greek peasants, all made trouble: once at least (in 1362) it was the Venetian colonists themselves who raised the familiar cry of Cretan independence. But not till Candia surrendered to the Turks in 1669 after a terrific siege of twenty-one years did the Venetian administration of Crete come to an end—and even after that a few fortresses hung on till 1715. We have to remind ourselves that 465 years is a very long time. Let us suppose that the Spanish Armada had not been defeated in 1588, and that before the end of that year Philip of Spain had begun an occupation of England which was to last for 465 years. Then in the present year the Spanish occupation of England would still have 125 years to run. It is clear that in a period of such duration there must have been formed a fairly homogeneous society. And in Crete under the Venetians it was a Greek society using the Greek language. The Greek language increased its vocabulary, as every living language must, by adopting very numerous Italian words; but it is a remarkable fact that the Italian language, or its Venetian dialect, appears to have had no permanent grammatical or phonetic influence on the language spoken in Crete.⁴ The Greek language indeed was often written in what are commonly called Latin characters, which it would be more correct to call Italian characters, as each letter of course retains the value it has in Italian. This fact in itself only shows that the Greek language was generally adopted by the Venetian settlers, and that the extreme concession made by the islanders was to accept an obvious economy in the use of one alphabet. Many works of the period, including some of the plays which exist in manuscript, are written in this manner.⁵ •

³ See Krumbacher, p. 644 ff.

⁴ See Γ. II. Ἀναγνωστόπουλος, Ἐπίδρασις τῆς Βενετικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν, in the Ἑπετηρίς ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, Vol. II., Athens, 1925.

⁵ For the practice of writing Greek in

Italian characters see Legrand's introduction to his edition of the *Erophile*, in *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, Vol. II. pp. xci ff., and Xanthoudides' introduction to *Φορουνάτος*, p. 6.

This Greek society, which in spite of rebellions and discontents grew up in the island, had a culture of its own. The best known literary monument of Venetian Crete is, of course, the heroic romance *Erotokritos*, written by Vincenzo Cornaro about 1650, which has thrilled the Greek populace of the eastern Mediterranean ever since. Professor Bury calls it 'a long and tedious romance saturated with Italian influence.'⁶ It certainly has the slowness of a popular and expensive film; but we might reply that it was not written for the entertainment of Professor Bury; and that the same criticism might be applied to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, if we did not consider it as a prelude to the noblest age of English poetry. Before the Crete of the *Erotokritos* and of these plays was submerged at the end of the seventeenth century by the Turkish morass, Venice had brought to the island an evident measure of commercial prosperity and intellectual activity, although the population had fallen from 500,000 to 300,000. From Crete came Cyril Loukares, most famous of the few patriarchs who have ever shown any inclination for reform. Crete in the sixteenth century was sending scholars, printers and professors to France, Italy and Spain. To Spain also—from Venice to Rome, and from Rome to Toledo—went the young Cretan Theotokópoulos who was destined to become one of the greatest masters in the history of modern painting.⁷

Might not a specifically modern Greek culture of permanent value to Europe have developed in such a society as this if a moderate degree of peace and stability had allowed it to continue? It is with this consideration in view that these Cretan plays are worth some study. There was in Crete a Greek community sufficiently cultured to demand the performance of plays of the same general type as those which were being enjoyed all over Western Europe. Where an established theatre existed there must have been a great many more plays than the group at present accessible,⁸ three of which may be taken as specimens in this paper. Many more may still lie hidden in the archives at Venice. Those which have been published either at Venice in the seventeenth century or by Sathas in 1879 are not masterpieces; but they are outstanding achievements in the body of modern Greek literature, which tends to be rather over-weighted with folk-songs and other forms of popular art. The language in which they are written, after allowance has been made for the numerous Cretan formations, provides a normal and lively idiom, and suggests the possibility of a comfortable dwelling-house, as much unlike the artificially restored palace of the purists as it is unlike the artificially dilapidated cottage of Psichari, Vlasto and Pallis. It is a relief to find the perfectly natural spoken language applied to a thoroughly sophisticated theme; and the natural beauties of the untaught mind, the lament, the love-song, and the proverb, adopted and refined by the conscious art of an educated poet.

⁶ *Romances of Chivalry on Greek Soil* (1911), p. 22.

⁷ El Greco, 1545-1614.

⁸ There are actually six plays extant:

Thysia tou Avraam, Zenon, Stathes, Gyparis, Erofile, and Fortounatos. Of the three not dealt with in this paper only one, the *Zenon*, fails to rank as an original work.

IV

The first play, *Abraham's Sacrifice*, stands in a class by itself, as it is excluded by its subject from the secular theatre, yet shows a certain intellectual quality which distinguishes it from the ordinary productions of the religious drama—mysteries, miracles or moralities. For this reason it has received much more attention than the other plays. I do not know that its recent admirers have ever been enthusiastic enough to secure it a public performance in Greece, but a Dutch translation by Professor D. C. Hesselning was presented with considerable success in Holland in 1920.⁹

Abraham's Sacrifice is supposed to have been first published at Venice in 1535. Legrand in his reprint professes to have followed a copy of this edition, and all subsequent authorities—even Krumbacher—follow him in giving 1535 as the date of the *editio princeps*. But I cannot find that a copy of this edition has ever been seen. There is a suspicious gap of 133 years till the next edition in 1668, and after that editions followed numerous, constituting a direct tradition at Venice which was taken up in the nineteenth century by popular editions at Syra and Athens.¹⁰ There is also a manuscript in St. Mark's library, the same manuscript that contains the plays first published by Sathas, in which the play is given with numerous but unimportant variants in Italian characters. In this version the play is dated 1635. It is tempting to suppose that the *editio princeps*, perhaps transliterated into Greek characters (as was commonly the case for publication) from this very manuscript, was really published not in 1535 but a hundred years later. In that case there is a further mystery to be explained—an edition of 1555 which is not mentioned at all in Legrand's introduction but makes its appearance in his *apparatus criticus*. The difficulty must be left for the present unresolved. It is sufficient to know that it is at any rate, as Krumbacher says, 'not older than the sixteenth century,' when rhyme came into fashion. There is the probability, suggested by the title-page of the 1668 edition,¹¹ that it was remodelled in rhyme on an older original; and there is the certainty that it shows Italian influence, and that all the other extant plays of this Cretan group as well as the *Erotokritos* itself can be dated within the hundred years from 1550 to 1650.¹² It would be unprofitable to connect it with the *mysteries* known to have been celebrated at Constantinople. It would indeed be misleading to connect it with any *mysteries*, although most of its expositors from Legrand to Psichari and Pernot have called it a '*véritable mystère*.' A *mystery* rightly suggests one of the great classes of Western medieval drama, developing into the *miracles* of

⁹ For a further account of these performances see the appendix to a popular edition of the play edited by Sophia Antoniadi (Athens, 1922).

¹⁰ The earliest editions in the British Museum are Venice 1713 (237. i. 17 (2)) and 1795 (868. e. 28).

¹¹ . . . συνθεμένη μὲν παλαιότεν διὰ στίχων ἀπλῶν . . . The title-page is quoted by

Legrand. See also Pernot's comment, p. 259. But I prefer the testimony of Xanthoudides (*Erotokr.* p. cxx), that these words must refer to a previous unrhymed version.

¹² Except the *Zenon*, which from a topical allusion in the prologue appears to have been performed in 1669 during the siege of Candia.

saints and the allegorical *moralities*; it is liturgical in origin and remains closely connected with the rites of the Church and the religion of the people. In Italy the same groups can be discerned (with the exception of the *moralities*): the mysteries (*misteri*) drawn from the Old Testament (*figure*) or the New (*vangeli*); and the (*sacre*) *rappresentazioni* illustrating the lives and adventures of the saints. They were perhaps rather processional in origin than liturgical, but they were quite as closely connected with the people and the Church. A *mystery* is a celebration of medieval religious life; and the end of the medieval *mystery* is clearly at hand when we find learned authors invading the field of popular poetry; Lorenzo de' Medici writing a *rappresentazione* of *San Giovanni e Paolo* (1489), and Feo Belcari (1485) an *Abramo ed Isac*. In France, Theodore Beza's *Abraham sacrificant* (1550) is still less related to the medieval mystery, belonging as it does to a 'group of Biblical tragedies' which represent an attempt of theology to capture the beginnings of classical tragedy.¹³ The two latter works written on the same subject have naturally been mentioned in connexion with the Cretan play. All three are something much more than medieval mysteries; and that of Theodore Beza undoubtedly shows a number of remarkable coincidences of sentiment though no similarities of construction. It is not necessary to assume any direct influence. For even if it is probable that Legrand blundered and that the actual date of the *Θυσία* is nearer 1635 than 1535, it would still be difficult to extend to Crete the influence of a Calvinistic tragedy published at Geneva.¹⁴ I think personally that all the similarities can be accounted for by an intelligent elaboration of the Biblical narrative and perhaps, as Pernot suggests, by a common tradition in the religious drama of the sixteenth century. In any case it is misleading to call the *Thysia* a *mystery*; for the author, accepting the facts as set forth in the Book of Genesis,¹⁵ treats them in an edifying and orthodox but strictly secular manner. It would be an exaggeration to say that he rationalises the story, or to compare the attitude of Euripides to Apollo in the *Ion*; but he seems to accept the facts only as a foundation for a study of sentiment and character,¹⁶ and he certainly writes for an educated and humanistic audience.

The language, though easy, flexible, colloquial and full of Cretan expressions, is not illiterate. Of what might be called the illiterate colloquial language as applied to Biblical narrative we have an admirable example in

¹³ *Enc. Brit.*, 8. 498, 511; 14. 905. There is a fifteenth-century English *Abraham and Isaac*, apparently from the French, as well as the Brome play usually assigned to the fourteenth century, and the Chester play on the same theme (see A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*).

¹⁴ Although we must not forget that the Patriarch Cyril Loukares, a Cretan (1572-1637), studied, amongst other places, at Geneva.

¹⁵ The Genesis story is probably a survival of some ancient ritual. It is curious that Sir James Frazer does not mention it in

the appendix to his edition of Apollodorus (Loeb Classics) 'on putting Children on the Fire.' But see *The Golden Bough*, iv. 177, where it is connected with the worship of Moloch and the feast of the Passover (substitution of lamb for first-born).

¹⁶ See Psichari . . . 'l'auteur tient à mêler le plus d'humanité possible aux choses divines . . . le poète laisse voir sa manière toute terrestre de comprendre le drame, par un monologue d'Abraham qui ne s'incline pas tout de suite devant l'ordre divin. . . . Le poète cherche donc à résoudre un problème purement humain. . .'

the poem of another Cretan, George Choumnos, recently edited by Professor Marshall and dated by Krumbacher 1500.¹⁷ The style and the vocabulary of the *Thysia* are those of the *Erotokritos*, which is another reason for dating it at the end rather than at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Indeed the resemblances of language are so remarkable that the latest editor of the *Erotokritos*, Xanthoudides, goes so far as to declare that if it were not for Legrand's alleged edition of 1535 he should suggest that the *Sacrifice* was actually an early work of the author of the *Erotokritos*, Vincenzo Cornaro.¹⁸ That the *Sacrifice* was not written for the study but for public presentation is clear from a consideration of its dramatic qualities. It is usually said to fall naturally into two Acts of 544 and 609 verses respectively, but I believe it will be found on analysis to be properly divisible into four Acts. There are undoubted indications of some form of double stage, probably an inner or upper stage with a front, lower, or apron stage, such as has been lately seen in London in the *Phoenix* revivals of Elizabethan plays.

One line—'and in the morning let us celebrate the festival of this resurrection'¹⁹—may be taken as sufficient indication that the play was intended for performance at the Easter festival, of which the sacrifice of Isaac was naturally a recognised type or 'prophetic similitude.'

To the Biblical characters are added two men-servants for Abraham (the 'two of his young men' whom Abraham is said to have taken with him in Genesis xxii. 3) and two maid-servants for Sarah. They are not dumb attendants, but play a considerable part in the action. Into the mouth of one of them, Sofer, the Cretan author puts those arguments of doubt or worldly wisdom for the presentation of which Theodore Beza introduces Satan himself in the disguise of a monk. These four servants bear the curious names of Sympan, Sofer, Ada and Tamar. These names, peculiar as they are, have not yet been traced in any of the religious or dramatic literature of the period. I have the best authority (that of Dr. James, Provost of Eton) for saying that they do not occur in any known apocrypha; but it is common for characters in the Western miracle plays to bear purely fantastic names. These (Adah and Tamar taken at random from later chapters of Genesis²⁰ and the unknown men's names) seem to be intended to give an Oriental or perhaps a Semitic colouring; and they may easily have been drawn by the author from the mixture of races which was much in evidence during the Venetian occupation.

¹⁷ *Old Testament Legends* . . . by Georgios Choumnos . . . edited by F. H. Marshall . . . 1925. 'An attempt to popularise the results of theological learning.' Perhaps it is unfair to call it illiterate; but the atmosphere certainly suggests Sinai rather than Venice.

[It is worth noting that Choumnos follows the Biblical narrative closely in describing Abraham's sacrifice, and that, except perhaps in small details mentioned below, his poem does not appear to have influenced the author of the present

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¹⁸ Xanthoudides, *Erotokritos*, cxx. As the probable date of the *Erotokritos* is 1550–1650, an early work of the same author might still have been published in 1535. Xanthoudides himself inclines to the later date, 1650, for the *Erotokritos*.

¹⁹ 1134: καὶ τὸ ταχὺ νὰ κάμωμεν τῇ ἀνάστασιν τὴν σκόλην.

²⁰ Adah (Genesis xxxvi. 4) and Tamar (Genesis xxxviii. 6) are spelled Ἀδὰ and Θαμάρ in the Septuagint version; the names in the play are spelled Ἀντα and Τάμαρ.

The play opens before daybreak, and the voice of the Angel—probably a figure actually present on the stage (instead of the voice of God Himself which in Genesis holds converse with the patriarch)—wakes Abraham and tells him that his dear son Isaac is within three days to be made a burnt offering in place of a lamb or ram on top of a high mountain to be indicated, that his faith may be glorified in heaven.

Abraham wakes up, and after dissolving his bewilderment by prayer accepts the command, which he is finally obliged to unfold to Sarah. Sarah breaks into a wild lament, which, as Pernot rightly points out, is a veritable *μυρολόγι* :—

‘Woe for the command, woe for the voice, woe for the desire of my heart, woe for the fire that has burned me up, woe for the trembling of my body, woe for the knives and swords that have entered into my heart. . . .’

‘If only I had become deaf and blind in my old age, that my eyes might not see nor mine ears hear; but to see and hear, my child, that I am losing you, will give me every hour a thousand wounds in my heart. . . . O mighty Judge, turn away even thine anger and change thy purpose which thou hast to-day settled. Keep the sword of Justice in its scabbard: take up instead thy loving-kindness which is full of grace: with that judge thou this day our ills and let our child live now in our old age; or give me death before he dies, neither of your grace suffer that I should remain without him. My strength is lost, my heart is struck, my soul is gathered up, my last days have come.’

With that she faints, and her two handmaidens, Ada and Tamar, carry her into the inner room, while Abraham breaks into a more measured lament. Only at the end of this speech, when Abraham has by a purely human effort of will made up his mind to obey the voice of duty, does the Angel reappear, to confirm his decision, and give him the sensible advice to rouse his son and go his way before Sarah wakes up again. Abraham calls his servants and begins to make preparations, but Sarah soon wakes up and appears on the inner stage, supported by her handmaidens, calling for her husband, while Tamar comforts her mistress with a speech of remarkable irony :—

‘Be of good cheer, Lady, here is your son’—Isaac was still sleeping, probably in a bed at her side on the inner stage—‘and the master is in the house too, you are not alone. The child is in bed and sleeping without a care, and master has put a sword in his belt and is speaking with his servants and arranging his business, but as though he had some little matter to worry him.’

Abraham comforts Sarah on a note of gravity and fortitude; but naturally the savage command does not admit much variety in the defence, and he can only repeat that their child, as much as their own chattels, bodies and spirits, is the Lord’s—and anyhow it is no use making it worse. Sarah suddenly becomes calm :—

‘Go, my good man, since God wills it, and may your way be all milk and dew and honey; go, and may God be sorry for you and hear you; so that voices that are pleasant may speak with you this day on the mountain. And let me think that I never gave birth to him and never saw him in my life; but I was holding a lighted candle and it went out.’

And so Isaac is roused unwillingly from sleep, and wonders why his father is dressing him instead of his mother, and why in his holiday clothes. He is told that they are off to a holiday sacrifice, and says, 'Mother, from the picnic I will bring you some apples and little branches off the trees that smell sweet and anything else delightful that there is. And if the schoolmaster comes looking for me, tell him I will soon be back.'

And then—'These pears,' says Sarah, 'I was given yesterday and I kept them on purpose for you, my boy. Put them in your pocket, and eat them when you are thirsty. They are sweet as honey, take them and try.'

But Isaac says, 'Mother, why are you sobbing and will not be quiet? And what trouble are you thinking about for me? It seems strange . . . perhaps I am going up the mountain and not coming down again.'

The Second Act presents the journey to the mountain of Abraham and Isaac with the two servants and the donkey laden with wood for the burnt offering. In the course of the journey the two servants become uneasy and persuade their master to tell them his trouble. Afterwards, while Isaac sleeps by the wayside, Sofer argues at length with Abraham that the 'voice of the angel' was only an evil dream. It is impossible for Divine justice to err so strangely, especially as God had promised to multiply Isaac's descendants 'as the stars of heaven.'²¹ Let his master put away such dreadful and savage thoughts which could bring nothing but misery.

Abraham replies that it was not a dream; that God moves in a mysterious way, bringing good out of evil. He must care nothing for the pangs of the flesh, the tongues of men or Sarah's tears, thinking only to please God, whose slaves we all are, whom no mind can hope to understand. Then leaving the servants by the wayside he calls Isaac and goes on towards the mountain top.

In the Third Act the dramatist faces a most difficult task, as usual with complete simplicity, and without using any illegitimate means to increase the pathos of the situation. Abraham and Isaac arrive at the place of sacrifice, and Abraham avoids his son's questions by busying himself with prayer and preparations for the burnt offering. Isaac, however, insists that the tiring job of building an altar is his business—a point in which the dramatist for obvious reasons departs from the text of Genesis.²² Abraham at last blurts out the truth: it is God's will. Isaac, with a series of arguments and appeals very characteristic of boyhood, says nothing of God's will, but speaks only of his father, what a terrible example he is giving to the world, and what sorrow to his mother. At last the moment comes, and Isaac is told to kneel down and pray. And Isaac prays to his father, that he should kill him, if he must,

²¹ In Genesis (xxii. 17) this particular promise—ὡς τοὺς ἀστέρας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ—is only made *after* the sacrifice. [It may be remarked that Choumnos also gives this promise *before* the sacrifice—at the time of Ishmael's mocking:

Μὰ τοῦτο σ' ἐναν τάσσομαι, ὡς τ' ἀστρα νὰ
πληθύνει

τὸ σπέρμα σου καθημερινόν, οὐδὲ ποσῶς ἀφίνω.

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²² Genesis xxii. 9: 'and Abraham built an altar there . . .' [Choumnos makes the building of the altar the joint work of father and son:

τὰ ξύλα κοινομήσασι, ἄφτουσι τὴν ἱστίαν.

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lovingly and with a caress, and if possible not burn his body. To his mother he sends farewell and love, and may heaven make her heart 'a stone of endurance.' He asks his father to look him in the face; not to strain the rope too tight; to comfort his mother; to give his clothes and his papers and the little box he keeps them in to his little friend Eliseek. At the last moment the Angel speaks (presumably entering at the back) and stays the sacrifice. He blesses Abraham and his family for their faith with the usual promises, and then, being more sophisticated than the Angel in Genesis, who only says, 'Now I know that thou fearest God,' he explains that this trial was made in order that the rest of the world might know Abraham's faith as well as God knows it already. After rather perfunctory thanks and due sacrifice of the 'ram caught in a thicket,' father and son agree to hurry back to Sarah. But first they must find Sofer and Sympan and send one of them to run on ahead, 'and to cry out to Sarah from afar off, "Glory be to God and thanks, Isaac is saved and the ram it was that was slain."'

The Fourth Act opens with the two young men, Sofer and Sympan, arguing that they ought to disobey their unhappy master's command and go and find out what is happening. Otherwise he might kill himself after the sacrifice. Suddenly they catch sight of Abraham with Isaac himself on the upper stage at the back. Sympan is sent off to find Sarah, 'to call out from afar off, but with a pleasant voice so as not to frighten her, and as soon as she is in sight to laugh and let her know that the child is alive.' The curtain falls on the upper stage, hiding the four from view, and then on the front stage enters Ada alone, weary and lost on the mountain, Sarah having sent her to find Abraham. To her enters Sympan running and laughing, so that she thinks he has gone mad. He tells her the good news, that the master and the child have, as he puts it, 'won a complete victory.' He cannot stop to tell her more, she must follow and keep up with him. So they too pass out of sight. Then Sarah herself enters supported by Tamar: she can go no farther, but will sit by the wayside and watch the path. Already she feels that good news is on the way, she has a little relief 'like air and coolness round her heart.' Tamar suddenly calls out to her mistress, 'Do you hear, like a shout that echoes over there by the spring? Do you see a man running over there by the cypress?'—'That is our man,' answers Sarah; 'be quiet and let me listen, I cannot quite make out what he is calling.' Tamar is sharper of hearing, and gives her mistress the customary Greek salutation on the receipt of good news—'happy hearing' (*καλῶς τὰ δέχθηκες*). At last Sympan enters from the upper stage, he also announcing himself with a similar formula, the customary claim for the reward of good news (*συγχαρίκια*).

The child Isaac is at hand and all the trials and weeping are over-past. When at last Isaac himself comes running in with a little hymn of joy—'Let us be glad this day of days, for I am come from death and they have brought me back alive'—Sarah is very quiet, and only says, 'My son, let me put my arms round you and kiss you; and let me go and thank your father who has saved you.' As she turns to Abraham, who has entered last, he greets her with words which can only be translated 'I told you so!' Enough, he adds,

of kissing and embracing. Let us go and spend this night in prayer, 'and in the morning we will keep the holiday of the resurrection.' And with another twenty lines of moralising and praise-giving he brings down the curtain.

V

The *Erophile* can be more easily classified: it is an Elizabethan tragedy of love and blood. It was first published at Venice in 1637, and the preface of the *editio princeps* records the surprising adventures of the manuscript. The author, George Hortátzes, a Cretan, is said to have written it in the Romaic tongue with Italian characters. The manuscript fell into the hands of a native of Zante, Philip Haréres, who handed it to a Cypriot priest to be transliterated into Greek for the printer. The native of Cyprus, however, not only transliterated it, but, in ignorance or disgust of the Cretan idiom, emended it and improved it out of all recognition. Fortunately the publisher of the second edition, a Venetian printer from Janina, handed the text for restoration to the librarian of St. Mark's, Ambrose Gradenigo, who being a patriotic Cretan not only restored the play to its native idiom but wrote a very sensible and aggressive preface against all blundering 'correctors' who confound and destroy the raciness of the living tongue. For every tongue, says he, rejoices in its proper idioms. This accounts for the fact that the Cretan flavour of the language is more pronounced than in the *Thysia*, though not so broad as in the pastoral plays. The second edition (1676) was reprinted six years later, and a copy of this reprint was used by Sathas in 1879.²³

The play was probably written in the first decade of the seventeenth century, possibly before the *Erotokritos*, to which it shows some noticeable similarities. It is actually a tragedy composed on the same theme as the happily-ending romance of *Erotokritos*—the faithful love of a youth of ministerial but not royal rank for a king's daughter, their secret marriage, his victory in war and tournament, and discovery. In *Erophile* the fact that the hero Panaretos is actually himself the son of a conquered king, but conceals his royal blood until it is too late, seems to be inserted only to increase the ironic bitterness of his not being allowed to enjoy the reward of constancy. The play is said to be indebted in some degree to various Italian tragedies published in the latter half of the sixteenth century,²⁴ particularly

²³ There are copies of the 1637 and 1672 editions in the British Museum (868. c. 41, and 868. b. 30), and a MS. of the play at Munich, collated by Wagner and described by Bursian; another manuscript in Italian characters, incomplete, was published by Legrand (1881).

²⁴ The plays most usually mentioned are:—

G. B. Giraldi, *Orbecche*; produced

Ferrara 1541; printed 1543 (2nd edition, Venice 1583). (Hesseling and Bursian.)

Trissino, *Sofonisba*; Venice, 1620. (Sathas.)

Antonio Camelli da Pistoja, *Filosttrato e Pamfila*; performed Ferrara, 1499; printed Venice, 1508. (Sathas.)

Mondella, *Isifile*; Verona, 1582. (Leake.)

Francesco Bozza, Candiotto, *Fedra*; Venice, 1578. (Sathas.)

to the *Orbecche*, reputed to be the 'best and bloodiest'²⁵ of the nine tragedies of G. B. Giraldi. The fact is that, owing to a prevailing taste for atrocities, dramatic authors were competing in the task of making an audience shudder all over Western Europe; and 'on similar subjects or occasions,' as Coleridge²⁶ remarked, 'some similar Thoughts must occur to different Persons.' Dainty dishes of ladies' hands and hearts and mangled lovers baked in a pie were served up by playwrights who had never heard of Seneca's *Thyestes*. 'There was no limit,' as Mr. William Archer pointed out, 'to the horrors which the contemporaries of Shakespeare could introduce into their plays, not only with impunity, but with applause.'²⁷

Italian audiences of the period were not only difficult to thrill, but were so impatient of intervals (in which we may sympathise) that a Florentine dramatist²⁸ had initiated a custom of intercalating a second play between the acts of the first, possibly as a substitute for the tragic choruses of the ancient drama. In our Cretan plays, three of which are furnished with such intermedial entertainments,²⁹ the interlude is already in a state of degeneration—a certain measure of rather mechanical and operatic dialogue, with songs and musical accompaniment from behind the scene, serving only to introduce a ballet or morris-dance (*moresca*). The interludes in the *Erophile* have the interest of presenting a ballet or operatic version of incidents drawn from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (published 1581)—the enchanted garden of Armida and the final capture of Jerusalem.

The Prologue is spoken by Death, *Xápos*, who appears in his bare bones, with thunder and lightning, carrying a scythe—part of the apparatus of horror so dear, as I have already noted, to the audience of the time. Not, however, on account of the slightly comic touches (he tells the audience not be frightened: he has not come for them), but, owing to the limited vocabulary and clumsy style, I have little doubt that this Prologue as well as the Interludes are by another hand.³⁰ The play itself shows that Hortátzes, though not superior to the manners of his time—he introduces a Ghost and a flock of demons in the very manner of the minor Elizabethans—was an educated poet with a flexible style and a knowledge of the classical Greek tragedians (certainly Sophocles) as well as of Seneca. That he was, however, inexperienced as a dramatist, that it was perhaps his first play, we may infer, I think, from the fact that it resolves itself into a series of duologues. His tragedy I believe must have

²⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 8. 504 a. The opening scene of *Orbecche*, in which the goddess Nemesis calls up the Furies with their lighted torches, can hardly be unconnected with the scene at the end of the Third Act in *Erophile*.

²⁶ Annotations to Warton, quoted by J. Drinkwater, *A Book for Bookmen*.

²⁷ *The Old Drama and the New*, p. 46.

²⁸ Grazzini in his *Gelosia* (1550), according to Hesseling; Sathas also refers to Buonarrotti's *Tancia* (1612). Grazzini first introduced choruses of witches and satyrs.

²⁹ *Stathes*, *Erophile* and *Fortounatos*. In the *Stathes* the two interludes are unconnected, one being an episode from the Trojan War (as are all four in the *Fortounatos*), the other from contemporary Crete.

³⁰ It is surprising that Bursian, according to Sathas (p. πζ'), noted no difference in style between the interludes and the play. A reference, quoted by Sathas, to Hortátzes refers ambiguously to a certain Katzaropos, which may be the name of a collaborator. See Sathas, p. νη, and Legrand, p. lxxxvi.

been prepared for the stage by the addition of prologue and interludes from the pen of a professional hack. The short odes sung by the Chorus of Maidens attendant on the heroine, who themselves take part in the action, are certainly the work of Hortátzes. They are extremely literary in manner, though not over-conceited, and are written in the metre of the Italian *terza rima* (iambic trimeter catalectic, with triple rhyme, as used by Dante).³¹ The rest of the play is in the usual rhymed *politicals*.

Panaretos the young hero, when the play opens, is, we gather, very unhappy: and as soon as his friend and brother-in-arms Karpóforos enters, he tells him all we need to know of the story of his life. He himself was the son of a neighbouring king, and his father having been killed in battle, he has been brought up in this palace of Filógonos, King of Memphis, where he has not only risen to honourable position but fallen madly in love with the King's daughter Erophile. After the war against Persia, in which, hoping to be killed, he had only won additional distinction, the lovers had declared their passion, had exchanged rings, and been secretly married. And now he is unhappier than ever, torn by remorse, fear and joy, and his very good fortune making him fear the worst. Yet rather than part from his Erophile he would have all his limbs cut up into little pieces—a rather crude passage of Sophoclean irony with an explicit statement of the jealousy of the gods (which Professor J. A. K. Thomson says is the 'current theme of Greek tragedy'). From the two remaining scenes of the Act we learn from conversation between the King and his chief Counsellor that the King is anxious to see his only daughter Erophile married, and that two wealthy monarchs from neighbouring countries have just sent embassies to sue for her hand. The Chorus sing a short ode to Eros—with reminiscences of the *Antigone*—and pray him to bring to a fortunate conclusion this business of the royal suitors which already fills them with uneasiness. After the Interlude—devils, Rinaldo, Armida, and her lovely wicked nymphs—which I regret there is no space to analyse—we find the King at the beginning of the Second Act still talking about the marriage of his dear daughter. He decides to send his faithful minister Panaretos to talk to her about it, and help her to make up her mind. In the next scene Erophile discusses the situation with her old Nurse and tells of the fearful dreams that haunt her, while Nurse alternately scolds and comforts, and when left alone gives us a meditation of considerable force on the unhappiness of crowned heads. There follow duologues of Panaretos and Nurse,

³¹ Iambic trimeters are rare in Greek popular poetry; but there is one song in Passow (520), in some versions of which (521, 522, 523) the metre may be found breaking up into two lines. The same iambic line, in rhymed couplets, is used in the *Εὐμύρφη Βοσκοπούλα*, another Cretan poem, published in 1627; and in the oral version of this, taken down in Chios (*Κανελλάκης, Χιακὰ Ἀνάλεκτα*, 1890), a similar break-up, or break-down, of the

modern Greek iambic may be observed. It is curious that the 'political' in English and the *senarius* in modern Greek seem to have a special tendency to break up into two lines. But of course the 'political' also breaks up in Greek under the influence of song and dance. See especially Σ. Π. Κυριακίδης, *τὰ παιδιὰ τοῦ δεκαπεντασυντάβου* (Athens, 1923), who traces the formation of, e.g., a trochaic quatrain from the break-up of a 'political' and the insertion of refrains.

and Panaretos and the King, in which the proposal to marry Erophile to one of the suitor Princes is seen to be inevitably approaching the entangled lovers, while the King in a mood of very pronounced *Hubris* regards the marriage as the finishing touch to the blessings of his state. The duologues are punctuated by rather elaborate monologues from Panaretos, and the Chorus sing a short and rather beautiful ode about the Golden Age and the King's ill-omened pride :—

Fortunate and full of grace was the life of men in other times in this world, when the earth without toil and without ever having known a wound brought forth her fruits in every place; and so many Kings, so many Laws, so many sharp swords came not near them, so many unjust Wars, so many Terrors. In common they held the earth, and such joy they used to feel, so fair was their fortune, that with every right they called that age the Golden, and often gathered together would they give thanks to Heaven. For then was not yet risen up from Hell and come into the world Pride, that is the undoing and tainting of Nature. What happiness men had tasted on earth, what great joy, what sweetness had they known, joy in old age, joy in their youth, without this new-comer so full of poison and bitterness. Joy for the maiden who was content to give to a lovely youth her understanding and the keys of her heart, for that without fear of her sire, free and loosed from every bond, she became forthwith the mate and companion of her lover. . . . But since from Hell came out this accursed Pride, eyes have ever been springs of weeping, for clothed about with the name of Honour she walks abroad and tortures the world worse than the plague. She passes over the sea and divides the land, brings dissensions to men and strife, and sets all the earth in confusion. Freedom she enslaves, and takes away all the delights of Love, and wherever she sets her feet she sows envies and sufferings.

‘This same Pride, as I see, will scatter great confusion in our midst, and desolation and bitterness again, for it holds the mind of our King so enmeshed that he will perforce give our lady to some King; and unless Heaven to-day will of Grace prove her helper, blind and dark do I see the light of her life. O Zeus, turn thou thine eyes on her, look on her in her sorrow, I beseech thee, and on the man who has become her mate, and give her grace that they may not harm her.’

Here follows the Second Interlude in which two of his Knights rescue Rinaldo from the enchanted garden.

In the first three scenes of Act Three the two lovers, Panaretos and Erophile, alone and in converse discuss the bitterness and delights of love, and their Honour rooted in Dishonour to the King. These scenes though rhetorical have a certain cumulative effect, and we are beginning to be stirred, when the illusion is dispelled by the Ghost of the King's brother.

King Filógonos had murdered him in order to seize the throne, as he tells us. Unlike the Ghost of Hamlet's father, he does not call on any human agent to ‘revenge his foul and most unnatural murder,’ but, as the King himself passes across the stage uttering words of exaggerated pride, he prays to Zeus for justice and to Pluto for fire from Hades. The fire, he is careful to

tell us, is only symbolical of the doom hanging over the palace—'madness, sorrows, tortures, weeping and death'—yet three Furies promptly appear and run about the stage with torches and uproar before being ordered back to their 'sulphurous and tormenting flames' by the Ghost. Then the Chorus recite an irreproachable ode about the lust for Gold, the blessings of Poverty and their fears for this Royal House.

In the Third Interlude Armida is seen encouraging the Turkish army in the defence of Jerusalem, but four Turkish Captains are defeated and slain after a battle dance by Rinaldo and three of his Knights.

In the Fourth Act the King has already discovered that his daughter Erophile is secretly married to Panaretos; and scenes between Nurse and Counsellor and King lead up to the fourth scene, the climax of the play, in which for the first time four speaking characters are assembled on the stage.

Erophile, supported by the timid sympathy of the Chorus and the Counsellor, pleads with her father, arguing with emotion but without unnatural cleverness that a husband like Panaretos, rich only in virtue and wisdom, is more easily ennobled than one who has only rank or wealth. Finally, when all else fails, she appeals to his former love for her, his only child, to his memories of her dead mother. But the King has become a raging tyrant, and savagely tells her to be gone, for she is no longer daughter of his, or even slave. The Counsellor tries in vain to calm him and exhausts every possible argument in defence of Panaretos. Panaretos is brought in in chains and is reviled by the King, who refuses to believe his revelation that he is not of mean birth, but actually son to that King Thrasymachus who was killed in battle. He is led off to execution. The Chorus sing an Ode to the Sun, praying him to hide his beams and send down thunderbolts on the Palace.

The Fourth Interlude shows another battle between Knights and Turks, after which Godfrey chivalrously accepts the surrender of Jerusalem.

The Fifth Act opens with the speech of the Messenger who describes to the horrified Chorus the torture, death, and mutilation of Panaretos. He is followed by the King, calm now and sardonically satisfied with his vengeance—always, he says, the best cure for disgrace, as ruthlessness is the sign of majesty. The mutilated remains of Panaretos are carried in after him in a basin by the executioners, whom he immediately dismisses. When his daughter enters he gloatingly tells her that he has decided to forgive her and give her Panaretos, as she wants him, and has brought her a rich present. When she has looked into the basin he goes on to tell her whose mutilated head it is—and that he cut it off with his own hand. After a scene in which the King and Erophile exchange Senecan couplets—the nearest approach in the play to stichomythia—he leaves her weeping over the basin, where in the next scene, after a suitable number of metaphors, she kills herself with the executioner's knife.

The Chorus (who are, of course, her maidens) come in and discover her body and are joined by the old Nurse, who utters a piteous lament, promising soon to join in the grave her lovely mistress whose baby she had hoped to dandle. When the Chorus say that the King must not be allowed to survive,

Nurse rather characteristically is horrified, saying she wants no more talk of vengeance to-day.

Then the King enters, and when they confront him, says he is sad indeed to lose his child but glad to lose his shame; and adds rather nobly that his own name and honour are his heirs; and that he does not want any lessons from the Chorus. Now, however, it is Nurse who takes the lead, who falls on her knees asking him to forgive her, and, making to embrace his feet, suddenly seizes them and throws him to the ground, calling on the other women, who rush on him and kill him, while the Ghost rises again to take his soul down to Hades.

In a short final scene Nurse again takes the lead, calling him no longer wicked but only unhappy King. Her maidens bear away the body of Erophile, and the Chorus, dragging away the body of the King, moralise on the folly of those who call themselves fortunate, for all wealth, and glory, and honour are nothing but a shadow, a bubble and a flame.

VI

It is a relief to turn from this gloomy tragedy to the third and last specimen of the Cretan drama. This is the *Gyparis*, which is what the Italians first called a 'pastoral tragi-comedy.' The first perfect example of this mode, inspired by the dialogues of Theocritus and the pastoral romance of Longus, was the *Aminta* of Tasso, first performed in 1573 and published in 1581. But it was the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, appearing in 1590, which captivated Europe with a sensuous picture of graceful shepherds and shepherdesses talking about love in the landscape of an imaginary Arcadia. The *Pastor Fido* was followed by many translations and (if one may talk about a flock of shepherds) by a flock of imitations.³² In England the mode produced the loveliest of them all, Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*, which, presented as it was by the *Phoenix* a year or two ago, showed how much dramatic beauty can arise from a series of lyrical pictures without any action at all.

The characteristics of the mode were, of course, a certain amount of satire of Italian court life—what John Addington Symonds called 'a study of contemporary feeling in Italian society'—set in a purely imaginary classical landscape. Ben Jonson remarked that 'Guarini kept not decorum in making Shepherds speak as well as himself could.'³³ But Guarini's followers lost even that contact with reality, and only embroidered the idyllic raptures of

³² The chief dates are :—

Aminta, favola boschereccia, performed 1573, printed 1581.

Pastor Fido, tragicommedia pastorale, performed 1585, printed 1590.

Alceo, favola pescatoria, written 1581, printed 1582.

The Faithful Shepherdess, 1610.

The Sad Shepherd, 1641.

³³ Ben Jonson's own essay, *The Sad Shepherd*, is open to the same objection. His

shepherds talk about Heliodorus, Longus and Eustathius; except that there is also plenty of talk about cheese, and his extremely scholarly shepherds are balanced by the sporting talk of Robin Hood and his huntsmen, by the landscape of Sherwood Forest and by the witch of Papplewick. All that Shakespeare wanted of the pastoral he put into the wood near Athens in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

a fairy Arcadia, which have in fact become proverbial. The anonymous author of the *Gyparis*, however, in writing a pastoral tragi-comedy for Crete, transferred the scene from Arcadia to Mount Ida, and gave the theme of hopeless love redeemed at the last moment by divine intervention to real Cretan shepherds and shepherdesses. The play, inspired as it was by the Italian fashion, borrowed numerous lines and expressions from Guarini, from Tasso's *Aminta* or *Amore Fuggitivo*, as well as from Ongaro's *Alceo*, the play which substituted fishermen for shepherds and was accordingly nicknamed the *Aminta bagnato*. But the author seldom copied. He preferred to rewrite an episode in his own manner, as he did, for instance, the famous incident of the desperate lover's appeal to Echo, and her comforting advice, which both Guarini and Alceo had taken from the Greek anthology.³⁴ More important is the fact that he certainly improved on his models by giving his pastoral a real contact with the soil. His characters are no Arcadians, but Cretan boys and girls with Cretan names—Panoraea, Athousa and Alexis, the old man Giannoules and the old woman Phrosyne, while Gypares himself, the faithful shepherd of the title, bears a name well known in modern Crete.³⁵ One bearer of it was a rather notorious henchman of Venizelos in the stormy years 1917–20. The dialect is real Cretan, rising indeed at emotional moments into the fashionable rhetoric, but in some speeches, especially in the mouth of the old shepherd and his companion Phrosyne, very broadly rustic and full of character; many scenes show a genial sense of humour, which is usually somewhat lacking in Greek popular literature. Mount Ida itself is at times referred to by its modern name of Pselorites; while the shepherd's vocabulary becomes on occasion so realistic that some of it can only be understood by the help of a paper which has fortunately been lately published by Xanthoudides on the technical terms used by modern shepherds in Crete.³⁶ The merits of this play have hitherto been curiously neglected; and even the omniscient Krumbacher refers to it—and as a tragedy—in conjunction with two others of the Sathas collection, as being of small significance.³⁷

There are two alternative prologues—which may be an indication that the play was so popular that, like a book rebound, it had to be fitted with a fresh prologue. But I think it is more likely that the first, spoken by 'the Goddess of the Comedy,' apparently Artemis, was composed by the poet with his comedy as first written: the second, spoken by a god who is called Zeus, but is apparently meant to be Apollo, who addresses himself with exaggerated gallantry to the fair ladies of the audience and describes rather facetiously his unfortunate adventure with Daphne, must, I think, have been written by request for the public performance, and probably by another and less literate hand. No doubt then as now theatrical managers were unwilling to believe

³⁴ *Anth. Plan.* 152: 'Αχὼ φίλα, μοὶ συγκαταίνεσόν τι; 'Ερῶ κορίσκας· ἃ δέ μ' οὐ φιλεῖ.—Φιλεῖ . . . and so on.

³⁵ Sathas quotes an N. G. Gypares from a contemporary (1877) newspaper report.

³⁶ *Ποιμηνικά Κρήτης*, in *Λεξικογραφικόν*

ἀρχαῖον τῆς μέσης καὶ νέας Ἑλληνικῆς, Vol. V., Athens, 1918.

³⁷ 'Weniger bedeutend sind die kretischen Tragödien Zenon, Stathis und Gyparis, die Sathas mit der Erophile veröffentlicht hat.'

that any work as it came from the poet's hand was quite what the public wanted.

In the First Act the two young shepherds Gyparis and Alexis compare the sorrows of their respective loves. Gyparis has for four years adored with never-ceasing sighs and tears the lovely Panoraëa, who will not have anything to do with him, as she spends all her time hunting. Alexis, on the other hand, is madly in love with her friend Athousa, but is afraid to speak. Gyparis enlists the help of the amusing old woman Phrosyne, who knew all about love when she was a young girl and has not yet lost all taste for it; and she closes the Act with a remarkable discourse on the true nature of woman which sounds almost like the preface to *Man and Superman*: 'The pretence that women do not take the initiative is part of the farce. Why, the whole world is strewn with snares, traps, gins and pitfalls for the capture of men by women.'

In the Second Act Panoraëa, with her friend Athousa, returns from the chase to the cottage of her father, the old shepherd Giannoules. He was complaining bitterly, when the curtain rose, about women in general and how his old woman in particular, when she was alive, never did any work and spent the whole day gossiping; but as soon as his daughter returns he scolds her for running about the hills all day without bringing home so much as a hare, instead of sitting always at home like her poor dear mother, spinning, weaving, carding wool, winnowing, milking the ewes, and cheese-making. As soon as Panoraëa is left alone to rest Gyparis once more declares his tearful love: to which Panoraëa replies that she has not the slightest desire to get married and has no patience with all this talk about love. Gyparis, left alone, after a very long elegant and euphuistic farewell to sun, moon and stars; to hills, trees and grass; caves, rivers and streams; to his father and mother and all the shepherdesses of Ida; to his sheep, which are to throw away their silver bells: and to his pipe, which he hangs on a bay tree, is about to kill himself, when Athousa, who has been listening, stays his hand, and promises to intercede with her friend on his behalf.

In the Third Act the old woman Phrosyne is arguing with Panoraëa, who remains quite unmoved, about her cruelty to Gyparis, the pleasures of love, and the duty of marriage, especially with a rich and handsome young shepherd like Gyparis. After she has exhausted every possible argument, Panoraëa says she never wants to give up her virginal pleasures in the chase, and will love Gyparis and marry him when the stars fall, the rivers run backwards, and the fishes come to feed on Mount Ida. Phrosyne finally threatens to use her witchcraft, but instead discusses the situation with old Giannoules, who enters looking for a strayed goat. They rather forget his daughter, however, in teasing each other, with a good many broad jokes, about growing older without growing wiser; and they go off together to the dairy, forgetting both Panoraëa and the goat. The amorous, timid Alexis manages after a struggle to reveal his passion to Athousa, who is bitterly disappointed; she had always thought him quite a safe companion; she will allow him, however, to see her sometimes if he promises not to talk about love.

In Act Four Panoraea and Athousa, who have been hunting again, receive a severe fatherly scolding from old Giannoules for thinking all men are at their feet and not getting married when they can. Meanwhile the two lovers, Gyparis and Alexis, competing in alternate lamentation, are comforted by old Phrosyne, who brings them to the cave where dwells the Nymph, the Nereid, who tells lovers their fortune. The Nymph, Echo, answers their appeal by telling them they must sacrifice to Aphrodite, whose priest opportunely comes out of the Temple complaining of the rarity of worshippers. Even in this rather stilted scene humour is not absent, for Phrosyne reminds them that they must promise plenty of presents, as priests, like everyone else, have raised their prices. They pray with the priest, and presently the Goddess herself comes out of the shrine with her dear son Eros. Their prayers have been heard; and she sends Eros off at once to shoot the stubborn girls with his magic arrows and make them madly dote with love. The young men, after promising the priest unflinching piety, rejoice and resolve to lose no time in finding their shepherdesses to see the passionate change worked in them.

A sort of prologue to Act Five is spoken by Eros himself, who, in a speech full of reminiscences, defends his beneficent power over gods and men, and tells us some of his methods and results. Then Panoraea and Athousa appear and describe their symptoms: Panoraea, the beginnings of pity for Gyparis leading to the sudden onset of love; Athousa, her aching heart, since early in the morning she thought with surprising sweetness of Alexis; they must go and find their faithful swains. But Phrosyne enters and begins to tease them unmercifully; congratulating them on their release from unwelcome attentions, for Gyparis and Alexis, she says, have at last come to their senses, and made a vow never to speak to them again, but go and find other girls to love. Panoraea's humiliation is complete, and presently, after being reminded about the fishes coming to feed on Mount Ida, she is weeping and threatening to kill herself, while Athousa argues that she was never as cruel to Alexis as Panoraea to Gyparis. Then old Giannoules comes in still raging because his daughter refuses to marry the only shepherd who in these days is likely to want her without a big dowry. (Gyparis being in love will be glad to take her in nothing but a shift.) Panoraea hastens to say that she has decided to do as her father wishes; and Athousa too will follow her example and marry Alexis if Giannoules will arrange it for her. Phrosyne still keeps up her joke, that it is too late now, till Gyparis and Alexis themselves appear wondering and rather incredulous. Giannoules calls them to come and take their brides, and formally betroths and blesses the two young couples. If it is all a dream, says Alexis, may he never wake up. Phrosyne adds her blessing, and Giannoules invites them all to the wedding, to be blessed by the priest of the Goddess, down at the farm, to which all the shepherds of Ida will be invited. Two oxen shall be slain, and the rejoicings will last for five or six months. Gyparis takes Panoraea by the hand:—

Hand in hand let us go and enter into our house. O you fortunate woods, and clustering trees with green branches and blossoms laden; and you

cool grasses, and chill waters of the fountain; you sweetest birds, beautiful to me beyond nature; and you temple of the holy Goddess, who are all witnesses of my joy and give me my heart's requital; since I can give you no other thanks but words alone, I pray heaven, the sun and moon and stars, the night and the daybreak, which are overflowing with grace, to grant you that no wind or mist, no rain or snow fall ever on these places; neither shall the shepherds ever lead their flocks to eat the grass of this meadow; that it may always be cool and green and flowery, beautiful and most fresh and sweet-smelling; that the maidens may look on you, and the young men may honour you, to make garlands here and lovely nosegays. In joy I leave you, for I go now to make an end of my sufferings, and my pains shall have their reward.'

It only remains for Alexis to bid the shepherds of Ida, young and old, rejoice with them without envy, and, if they love, hope for the like felicity.

JOHN MAVROGORDATO.

EXTRACTS FROM PLAYS REFERRED TO ABOVE.

(1) *Θυσία τοῦ Ἀβραάμ.* 329–360.

ABPAAM. Ἥγαπημένη μου γυνή, μὴν κάνης σὰν κοπέλι
τοῦτο ποῦ θὲ νὰ πάθωμεν, ἀφέντης μας τὸ θέλει.
Σίμωσε, κάτσε μετὰ μέ, μὴν κλαίης, μὴ θρηνᾶσαι,
μέ κλαῦματα καὶ μέ δαρμούς, καῦμένη, δὲν φελάσαι.
τὸ τέκνον ποῦ ἐκάμαμεν δὲν εἶν' δική μας χάρι,
ὁ πλάστης μᾶς τὸ χάρισε, τώρα θὲ νὰ τὸ πάρη,
τί θέλεις, ὦ βαρειόμοιρη, νὰ κλαίης, νὰ θρηνᾶσαι,
καὶ τυρανῶς με, τὸν πτωχόν, καὶ σὺ δὲν ὠφελᾶσαι;
δὲν εἶν' καιρὸς διὰ κλαῦματα, Σάρρα μου, θυγατέρα,
εἶναι καιρὸς παρηγοριᾶς, ἀπομονῆς ἡμέρα.

ΣΑΡΡΑ. ὦ τί καῦμός καὶ πάθος!
ὅταν μοῦ ποῦσι, τέκνον μου, τὸ πῶς ἐγίνης ἄθος.
ὦφου, μέ ποιὰν ἀποκοτιὰν νὰ δυνηθῆς νὰ σφάξῃς
τέτοιοι κορμὶ ἀκριμάτιστοι, καὶ νὰ μὴδὲν τρομάξῃς;
Θέλεις τὸ νὰ σκοτεινιασθοῦν τὰ μάτια μου, τὸ φῶς σου,
καὶ νὰ νεκρώσῃ τὸ παιδί, νὰ ξεψυχήσ' ἐμπρός σου;
Μὲ ποιᾶς καρδιᾶς ἀπομονὴν θ' ἀκούσης τὴν φωνήν του,
ὅταν ταραξ' ὡσὰν ἀρνὶ ἐμπρός σου τὸ κορμὶν του;
ὦφου, παιδὶ τσ' ὑπακοῆς, ποῦ μέλλεις νὰ στρατεύσης,
'ς ποιὸν τόπον σὲ καλέσασι νὰ πᾶς νὰ ταξιδεύσης;
καὶ πότε νὰ σὲ καρτερῇ ὁ κύρης κ' ἡ μητέρα,
ποιὰν ἐβδομάδα, ποιὸν καιρόν, ποιὸν μῆνα, ποιὰν ἡμέρα;
ὦφου, τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιᾶς καὶ πῶς νὰ μὴν τρομάσου
ὅταν εἰς ἄλλωνοῦ παιδιοῦ γροικήσω τ' ὄνομά σου;
τέκνον μου, πῶς νὰ δυνηθῶ τὴν ἀποχωρίσιν σου,
πᾶς νὰ γροικῇς ἄλλου φωνήν, ὅχι τὴν ἐδικήν σου;
τέκνον μου, καὶ διατ' ἤθελες νὰ λείψῃς ἀπὸ μένα;
ἐγίνης τόσον φρόνιμον παρὰ παιδὶ κανένα.
Τάσσω σου, υἱέ μου, τὸν καιρόν, ποῦ θέλ' ἀκόμη ζήσει,
νὰ μὴν ἀφήσω κοπελιοῦ γλώσσαν νὰ μοῦ μιλήσῃ
καὶ νὰ θωροῦν τὰ μάτια μου πάντα τῆς γῆς τὸν πάτον,
καὶ νὰ θυμοῦμαι πάντοτε τὸ σημερνὸν μαντάτον.

(2) Ἑρωφίλη. Act I. 585–629.

ΧΟΡΟΣ. Ἐρωτα, ποῦ συχνιά 'ς τῇ πλειά μεγάλους
καὶ ὁμορφους λογισμοὺς κατοικημένους
βρίσκεσαι, τῇ μικροὺς μισῶντας τὸ ἄλλους,
καὶ ἔτο' εἶσαι δυνατὸς καὶ μπορεμένος,
καὶ τόσην χάριν ἔχουν τ' ἄρματά σου
'ποῦ βγαίνεις πάντα μ' ὅλους κερδαιμένος·
μᾶλλον τὰ τόσα βρόχια τὰ ἴδικά σου
γλυκειά, καὶ μετ' αὐτὰ τόση ἔχουν χάρι
μ' ὅποιο καὶ ἂν ἐμπερδέσαν ἡ χαριστὰ σου,
καὶ ἄγριος ὡς θέλει νὰ ναι σὰν λειοντάρι,
πᾶσα κιανεὶς συμπέφτει μετὰ σένα,
καὶ πεθυμᾷ πληγὴ ἀπὸ σέ νὰ πάρῃ.
Καὶ ὅχι οἱ ἀθρώποι μόνο γνωρισμένα
σ' ἔχουσι τὴν μπορεῖς καὶ πόσο ἔαζεις
μὰ τὰ βερτόνι' αὐτὰ τὰ χρυσωμένα
'ς τὸν οὐρανὸν σὰ θέλῃς ἀνεβάζεις
μὲ ἀποκοτιά καὶ δύναμι μεγάλη,
καὶ τὴν καρδιά τοῦ Ζεῦ τὴν ἴδια σφάζεις,
καὶ τόσην παιδωμὴ καὶ τόση ζάλη
τοῦ δίδεις, ἀπ' ἀφίνει τὸ θρονί του
κ' ἔρχεται ἔδω 'ς τὴν γῆ μὲ πρόσοψι ἄλλη.
Διὰ χάριν σου ὁ γιαλὸς μέσ' τὸ καυκὶν του
στέκει, καὶ ἡ γῆς διὰ σένα δὲν γυρίζει,
καὶ μιὰν ὁδὸν οὐρανὸς κρατεῖ δικτὴν του.
Διὰ σένα πᾶσα φύτρο πρασινίζει,
πᾶσα δειντρὸ πληθαίνει καὶ ξαπλώνει
καὶ ἀθούς καὶ ὁπωρικὰ μᾶσε χαρίζει.
Δάσος τοσ' ἄγρια ζῶα ποτὲ δὲν χώνει
ἢ ψάρι ὁ γιαλός, τὴν δύναμί σου
νὰ μὴ γροικοῦν καὶ αὐτὰ νὰ τὰ πληγώνῃ.
'Σ τῶν γυναικῶν τ' ἄμμάτια τὸ θρονί σου
κρατεῖς, καὶ ὅκ τὰ χιονάτα καὶ ὁμορφά τως
προσώπατα πληθαίνει ἡ μπόρεσίς σου
'ς τὰ χρυσωμένα κείνα τὰ μαλλιὰ τως.
'ς τὰ δροσερά τως στήθη τ' ἀσημένια,
'ς τὰ κοραλένια χεῖλη τὰ γλυκά τως
πέτεσ' ὀλημερνῆς, καὶ μαραμένα
τὰ μέλη νὰ θωρῆς συχνὰ σ' ἀρέσει,
τὰ ἄμμάτια ταπεινὰ καὶ ἀνακλαῦμένα,
διὰ νὰμποροῦσι 'ς τὸ ἴστερ' ὅποιοι κλαῖσι
διὰ κόρης ὁμορφιὰν καὶ ἀναστενάζουν
κριτὴν ἄδικο περίσσα νὰ σέ λείψι,
καὶ κείνη τὴν χαρὰ ποῦ δοκιμάζουν
τοῦ πόθου πλειὰ γλυκειά καὶ πλειὰ δροσάτη
καὶ πλειὰ χαριτωμένη νὰ λογιάζουν.

(3) Γύπαρις. Act V. 371–402.

ΓΥΠΑΡΙΣ. Πανώρηα, τὸ χεράκι σου δός μου ν' ἀγκαλιασθοῦμε,
καὶ ἀγκαλιασμένοι σπίτι μας κ' οἱ δυὸ νὰ πᾶ νὰ μποῦμε
ᾧ δάση καλορροίζικα τὰ δένδρη γεμισμένα,
μὲ τὰ κλαδιὰ τὰ πράσινα καὶ τ' ἄνθη φορτωμένα,

ὦ χορταράκια δροσερά, τὰ κρυὰ νερὰ τῆς βρύσης,
 πουλάκιά μου γλυκότατα καὶ ὁμορφα παρὰ φύσης,
 καὶ σὺ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίας θεᾶς, ὅπου ὅστε τῆς χαρᾶς μου
 μάρτυροι καὶ τὴν πληρωμὴν δίδετε τῆς καρδιάς μου,
 ἀπῆς δὲν εἶναι μπορετὸ ἄλλο νὰ σᾶς χαρίσω,
 παρὰ μὲ λόγια μοναχὰς νὰ σᾶς εὐχαριστήσω,
 τὸν οὐρανὸ παρακαλῶ, τὸν ἥλιο, τὸ φεγγάρι,
 τῷ ἄστρῳ, τῇ νύκτι, τὴν αὐγὴν, πῶχουσι πλείσα χάρι,
 νὰ σᾶς ἐδίδουν ὅλα τους, ἀπ' ἄνεμο καὶ γνέφη
 ὅς τὰ μέρη τοῦτα ἢ βροχὴ μὲ χιόνι νὰ μὴ πέφτῃ,
 μὴδὲ οἱ βοσκοὶ ποτέ τῶνε μὴ φέρουσι κουράδι
 τὰ χόρτα νὰ σᾶς τρώσινε ἀπώχει τὸ λιβάδι,
 διὰ νὰ ὅστε πάντα δροσερά, πράσινα καὶ ἀνθισμένα,
 ὁμορφα, δροσερώτατα πολλὰ καὶ μυρισμένα,
 νὰ σᾶς θωροῦν οἱ κορασὲς καὶ οἱ νεοὶ νὰ σᾶς τιμοῦσι,
 τζόγιες νὰ κάνουν μετὰ σᾶς ὁμορφες νὰ βαστοῦσι.
 Μὰ ἀφίνω σᾶς χαϊράμενα, καὶ πάγω νὰ τελειώσω
 τὰ πάθη μου, καὶ πλέρωμα ὅς τοὺς πόνους μου νὰ δώσω.

ΑΛΕΞΙΣ. Ὡ τιμημένες κορασὲς καὶ νεῖες χαριτωμένες,
 ὅπου ὅστε ὅς τοῦτα τὰ βονὰ τοῦ Ἰδας πρεμαζωμένες,
 ὦ φρόνιμοι καὶ ἀξιώτατοι, καὶ πλούσια γεροντάκια
 ὅπου μὲ κόπους ἤρθετε τῆς Ἰδας τὰ χαράκια,
 κ' ἔχετε λύπησιν καὶ σείς ὅγιά τὰ βάσανά μας
 καὶ διὰ τοὺς πόνους τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅπου ἔχε ἡ καρδιά μας,
 πῶς ἐθελήσαν οἱ θεοὶ καὶ οἱ πρίκες ἐτελεῶσα
 καὶ τοῦτες ὅγιά ταῖρί μας τῇ λυγερῇ μᾶς δῶσα,
 μὴ μᾶς ζηλεύετε λοιπό, μὰ ἀπὸ καρδιάς χαρῆτε,
 καὶ ἂν ἀγαπᾶτε, ὥσάν καὶ μᾶς ὀπλίζετε νὰ βρῆτε!

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³⁸ I know this only from the references of Legrand, Sathas and Krumbacher.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Εὐρετήριον τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. By G. A. SOTERIOU. Pt. I., pp. 58. Athens, 1927.

SCHOLARS will welcome the first instalment of the illustrated *Index of the Medieval Monuments of Greece*, compiled by Professor Soteriou, director of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, which, when completed, will consist of two volumes, one for 'old,' the other for 'new' Greece. The present section contains an introduction, giving the history of Athens from St. Paul to 1834 and of the Athenian Church with a list of its heads (but not of the Latin prelates), and a map of the medieval town, with an account of the Imperial, Frankish and Turkish fortifications, of the Christian churches formed out of ancient monuments, such as the Parthenon, and of independent Christian foundations, such as the basilica of Bishop Leonides near the Ilissos, discovered in 1916, that containing the tomb of Bishop Klematios, discovered in the Hodos Tsakaloff in 1888, and that opposite the Archbishop's residence, discovered in 1926. On p. 23 by a misprint the date of Akominatos' death is wrongly given; on p. 16 that of Nerio's capture of Athens should be 1388.

W. M.

Ἱστορικὰ Ἐγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἐπανάστασιν. Edited by P. M. KONTOGIANNES. Pp. 252. Athens: Sideres, 1927.

THIS valuable collection of 163 documents, mostly from the archives of the Greek Foreign Office, possesses special value for English students of the War of Independence, because it largely relates to the appeals made for British aid, mediation and even protection. These began 'almost from the firing of the first shot'; for in April 1821 we find Krevvatás, head of the well-known family of Mistrá, writing to a correspondent at Zante for British assistance on the ground of mutual interests, such as the proximity of the Morea to the Ionian Islands and Malta. There are letters of D. A. Miaoules from London about his mission in 1825, and correspondence with Stratford Canning, then Ambassador at Constantinople, inviting his intervention, and with the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands begging him to give refuge to non-combatants. A hitherto missing document is the Greek original of the Government's letter to the Admirals of the three Powers, accepting the armistice of 1827. Others illustrate Cochrane's activities in the Aegean. We learn of a curious attempt to enlist Montenegrin aid, and of the desire of Moslem Albanians to enter into relations with the Greeks. There are two valuable reports by Mavrokordatos and one by Zographos on the condition of Greece in 1826-27, besides four unpublished letters of Capo d' Istria of the latter year, which are of topical interest now that the centenary of his arrival in Greece has drawn attention to him. There are numerous letters of Ignatios, the Metropolitan of Arta, and of Viaro Capo d' Istria, while a whole section treats of 'the internal administration and the military operations'; this includes letters of Church, Codrington and Heideck, all dated 1827. The editor has furnished an introduction dealing with the contents and language of the documents, which supplement the two volumes of Dionysios Roma's published archives.

W. M.

Σύγχρονος Ἱστορία τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν λαῶν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἀπὸ 1821, μέχρι 1921. By P. KAROLIDES. Vol. VI [1862-64]. Pp. 430. Athens: Bitzikounakes, 1927.

THE sixth volume of Professor Karolides' *Contemporary History of the Greeks*¹ is entirely occupied with the events of two years, from October 1862 to November 1864, and deals exclusively with the selection of a new king, the debates in the National Assembly, and the sanguinary 'days of June,' when Athens became a battle-field between the 'Mountain' and the 'Plain,' as the rival factions were called, on French analogy but with a different meaning. This excessive length is due to considerable repetition, to much argument, and to the reproduction *in extenso* of Greek parliamentary speeches and newspaper articles in the original, and of foreign diplomatic notes in translation. Moreover, much of the narrative is contained in long footnotes, upon which smaller explanatory footnotes are occasionally superimposed, so that the continuity is broken, whereas references—the only legitimate purpose of footnotes—are scarce. There is, for instance, no allusion to Sir Henry Elliot's *Some Revolutions and other Diplomatic Experiences*. Nevertheless, the volume treats of this troublous period of Greek history with a detail never before attempted, and contains interesting matter found in no other book. British readers will note the suggested candidates for the Greek throne of Gladstone and Stanley, the latter being supposed to be descended from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine X Doukas. Throughout the author is enthusiastic about Otho and tepid about George I., while he takes frequent occasion to express his forcible views upon very recent Greek politics, including the 'Oecumenical' Government of 1926-27. Of the statesmen of the 'Interregnum' he cordially dislikes the autocratic Bulgares and thinks that Delegeorges was the only man of mark produced by the revolution of 1862. He praises Deligiannes and the younger Trikoupes, then parliamentary freshmen, and his description of the leading men of the Assembly is vivid. The question of the ecclesiastical union of the Ionian Islands with Greece, accomplished in 1866, naturally provokes the expression of his well-known preference for the Oecumenical Patriarchate rather than the Autocephalous Church of Greece. There is an interesting comparison between Otho's arrival in 1833 and George's reception in 1863, much to the advantage of the former, and the accounts of the suppression of the Senate and of the temporary revival of the Council of State—again abolished in December 1865—possess topical interest now that Republican Greece has revived both those institutions. It is curious to learn that George was so-called after our own *Est-il possible?*, and that Spain did not recognise him till 1869. His diplomatic practice of summoning to power, and thus muzzling, persons dangerous to the monarchy is shown to have begun from the outset, and his tact and knowledge of the Greeks more than atoned for his small tincture of the classics and his slight interest in the antiquities.

W. M.

Correspondance de Nicéphore Grégoras. Par R. GUILLAND. Pp. 392. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1927.

THE Byzantine historian, Nikephoros Gregoras, is known to have written 161 letters to his leading contemporaries, such as Andronikos II and III, the Cantacuzenes, and Metochites, the most learned statesman of the fourteenth century. Of these letters, 23 were published before 1924 by Arétin. Boissonade, Cramer, Migne, Moustoxides and Treu, and 83 more in the *Ephemeris Dacoromana* for that year by M. Bezdeki. The present volume, published in the Byzantine collection of the Association Guillaume Budé, contains French summaries, or in some cases the Greek text with a French translation, of all these, together with 55 hitherto unpublished, besides 21 letters addressed to Gregoras, of which seven were unedited. Despite their frigid style, gross flattery and rhetorical allusions to well-worn classical themes, the letters contain germs of historical importance. Such are the letter (largely reproduced in the *History*) describing the author's mission to Stephen Urosh III of Serbia in 1326 by way of Stroumitza and Skoplje and giving the Axios its modern name Vardar;

¹ See *J.H.S.*, xlv, p. 132.

that alluding to Philanthropenos' defeat of the Turkish attack on Mytilene in 1334, his expulsion of the Latins from that island in 1336, and the Turkish raid on the Peloponnese in 1334 (pp. 167, 169, 173); and the descriptions of the state of Greece and Cyprus about 1355 (pp. 280-89). One letter mentions that Gregoras wrote the eulogy of Hugues IV de Lusignan of Cyprus, wrongly attributed by Migne to Thomas Magistros (p. 124). The editor, already familiar with his subject from his *Essai* upon this historian, has added biographical notes on the correspondents of Gregoras. When, however, he writes that 'we know nothing else of Loukites,' the Trapezuntine dignitary, to whom Letter 43 is addressed, he ignores Loukites' funeral oration on Alexios II of Trebizond, published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. On p. 43 a Greek word is mistranslated *montagnes*, instead of *frontières*; the mistranslation thereby becomes also geographically inexact, as Skoplje is not 'in the mountains,' besides missing the historical point, that at that date the traveller, on reaching Skoplje, was 'already within the Serbian frontiers.'

W. M.

Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg. Edited by FRITZ SAXL. I, 1921-2; pp. 185 : 8 M. II, 1922-3 ; Teil i, pp. 224 : 10 M. ; Teil ii, pp. xx + 424, with 20 plates, 1925 : 25 M. III, 1923-4; pp. 226 : 12 M. Leipzig : Teubner.

THE new foundation, which we owe to the wisdom and generosity of Professor Warburg, is responsible not merely for these handsome and interesting volumes, but also for a series of *Studien* (including Norden's famous *Die Geburt des Kindes*) and for subsidising other learned activity. A central idea of the *Bibliothek* is the continuity of antiquity with the Middle Ages and with the Renaissance, a subject on which Professor Warburg is himself an authority. Survivals of art-motifs are treated by A. Doren, A. Goldschmidt, G. Pauli, F. Saxl, P. E. Schramm, of literature by E. Wechaler, of philosophy by E. Hoffmann and H. Liebschütz, of legal symbols by C. Borchling, of magic and astrology by H. Ritter, whose study of the Arab *Picatrix* (I. 94 ff.) is of particular interest to those who are concerned with the offshoots of ancient thought to be found in the Hauran. There is much else of importance; a brilliant and provocative lecture on Zeus by Wilamowitz, papers by Cassirer on the philosophy of religion, and various contributions to the study of Hellenistic and Imperial religion (H. Gressmann on the Hellenisation of Oriental cults, H. Junker on the conception of *Aion*, H. Lietzmann on the Porta Maggiore Basilica, R. Reitzenstein on St. Augustine's development, a very fine essay indeed, and on Iranian and Northern ideas of the end of the world, and F. J. Dölger on belief in the efficacy of the blood of the martyrs).

Vol. II, part ii consists entirely of R. Eisler's *Orphisch-Dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike*. It is difficult to form a correct judgment of this elaborate work. Eisler's learning is very great, and as in former work he has extended the horizon of our study: moreover, he publishes much ill-known or unknown material, though it is to be regretted that the most interesting pieces often appear in poor text figures. His main thesis is the continuity of early Christian imagery with Orphic imagery. If one regards all imagery concerned with Orpheus as Orphic imagery, this thesis is obviously true and familiar, though many of the details here presented are at least to the reviewer new. Eisler is, however, not content with this thesis as an iconographic thesis; to him Orphic imagery implies Orphic content, and he is prepared to infer religious ideas from imagery. On these principles, if our civilisation perished, a student in 2000 years' time of our churches would draw some queer inferences from their mosaics and paintings. Some hypotheses in Eisler's direction we must make if we are to progress; but they must be made with a greater sobriety and sense of chronology, and Lobeck's precepts must be used as well as his erudition.

The value of such a book, which most readers will use mainly as a storehouse of information, must turn largely on its accuracy. I note a few points which may serve as a warning that E.'s statements need testing, though I should wish neither to make nor to imply a generalisation. On p. 104 Eisler says that it is known that a sacred fishing by an association of *mystae* is attested by an inscription on Gallipoli, which speaks of various functionaries

die alle zusammen 'auf das Nilaeum das Netz geschleppt und die Geheimfeier begangen haben.' He does not, however, give the Greek text, οἱ δίκτυαρχ[ή]σαντες καὶ τε[- -]α[ρχ]ήσαντες, or mention that τελεταρχήσαντες, the restoration which he presumably translates, is a conjecture and that Mordtmann's τελωναρχήσαντες (*Ath. Mitth.* X. 206, followed by Dumont-Homolle, *Mélanges*, 432, No. 100m) deserves at least as much consideration. If we read τελωναρχήσαντες, the text is an intelligible document and relates to a company concerned with fishing dues (Rostovtzeff, *Philol.*, *Suppl.* IX. 414): the phrase ἐν τῷ Νελαίῳ, on which Foucart and Eisler have laid stress as supporting a religious interpretation, presumably refers to some unknown local place-name. I treat this at length because it is a point on which the reader should have had the cards laid on the table, even if they were so laid in Eisler's earlier article, *Bayr. Hefte f. Volkskunde* II, 115, which is inaccessible to me. On p. 280 Eisler says 'das pseudo-Simonideische Epigramm 172 B den Διονύσοιο ἄνακτος βουφόνον . . . θερίζοντα als den δούραμβος erklärt.' But the explanation is that of later writers referred to as οἱ δέ by Athenaeus X. p. 456 D. not of Pseudo-Simonides. On p. 299 Eisler ironically regards it as impossible to treat ΓΕΩΡΤΙΑ as a woman's name; but cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* s.v. On p. 344, the famous story of the acquittal of Aeschylus ἐπιδείξας ἄνδρ' ὅν <μὴ> μεμνημένον is thus explained: 'Das kann sich nur auf die Orphika beziehen, denn in die Eleusinien war er natürlich, wie fast jeder auf sich haltende Athener eingeweiht (Aelian, *V.H.* V. 19; cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 886).' The reference to Aelian merely informs us that Aeschylus was saved by his brother Ameinias, who showed the stump of his arm maimed at Marathon, and is entirely irrelevant to the question of initiation: that to Aristophanes is serious, though a later note by M. P. Charlesworth, *Cl. Rev.*, 1926, now suggests a better view. On the notion, which Eisler implies, that to divulge Orphic mysteries would be regarded as sacrilege by a fifth-century Athenian court, I say nothing, as also on the ΟΡΦΕΟΣ ΒΑΚΚΙΚΟΣ gem, since treated with what appear to be good reasons as suspect (R. Zahn—J. Reil, *ATTEΛΟΣ*, II. 62 ff.).

Eisler's book is, taken as a whole, a noteworthy collection of material, with some interesting suggestions (as, for instance, p. 235 ff. on the Linos-song), but open to grave objections in its method. Its treatment of symbolism is an exaggeration of a tendency which has in other writers led to precarious results. How long the meaning which a symbol had in its origin or acquired through some association survives, and again how widespread the symbolic attitude of some writers of the Empire was, are questions which cannot be answered; we must, however, hope that some more cautious and equally comprehensive attack will be made on symbolism in Imperial and early Christian Art. The ground is in a measure cleared for the latter by P. Styger, *Die altchristliche Grabeskunst*, on which I may refer to a forthcoming review in *J.R.S.*

The Warburg series is a clear enrichment of our learned literature, and we await new volumes eagerly.

A. D. N.

God, Man and Epic Poetry; a Study in Comparative Literature. By H. V. ROUTH. Vol. I, Classical. Pp. x + 232. Cambridge University Press, 1927. 12s. 6d.

THE author in his preface admits that he is not satisfied with the title of his work. Perhaps 'God and Man in the Ancient Epos' would have been better. Though God naturally comes first in this heading, it is really man and his glorification that is the core of the Homeric Epos. The theme of the *Iliad* is the glory and pride that surround human nature, and Professor Routh aptly illustrates the feeling inspired in a reader by Homer's treatment of the subject by a remark of the sculptor Bouchardin, 'Lorsque j'ai lu Homère, j'ai cru avoir 20 pieds de haut.' Contrasted with Homeric heroes, we moderns in the face of our Frankensteinian inventions can only feel how puny we are, while those authors expatiated on the battlefields of life with a heyday belief in their own powers, albeit physical powers, for intellect is not much accounted of beside the prowess of the warrior. The protagonists of the *Iliad* are tolerant, ready to accept rebuke, and to admit failure or fear. The part of the gods in this epic drama is to throw into relief the incomparable grandeur of men. Heraclitus, with his paradoxical obscurity and yet shrewdness, says, 'It is the gods who

are mortal, the man immortal.' Against envious and capricious deities, and the fear of death—for how to master this fear was the problem of Homeric man—the warrior caste, to which all the epic heroes belonged, had to invent a power behind the gods. This was Fate, whose alone it was to bring death upon man, irrespective of what the gods did or did not do. This fatalism made them ready to meet their death in battle when the time came, as it has done every follower of Islam, with dignity. But by a curious throw-back we find these simple reasoners led again to regard Zeus in a different aspect, as in some sense a Controller of Fate. Later we know that Aeschylus harked back to the idea of a mysterious Fate that lay behind the Ruler of Olympus himself.

A man's virtues were his own product and not the gift of the gods, who could only help or harm him as an independent entity. When a god is made to intervene and counsel a mortal, as in the great quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, it is only the epic way of envisaging the hero's own thoughts. As Seneca says in a graphic metaphor, *ascendentibus di manum porrigunt*. The early gods were little more than tutelary deities, and only slightly greater and nobler than man himself. Our author then sums up the heroic characteristics as idealisms, an outlook on the divine free from superstition, a desire for glory, and a horror of death.

Turning to the *Odyssey* we find the problem of its date and authorship ably discussed, though not wholly solved. In spite of the strong arguments drawn from the unity of style and enthusiasm, which have impressed many acute minds, the indications of a later, though not much later, date for the *Odyssey* are too plain to be ignored; for instance, the extended use of iron, the familiarity with riding, and more especially the feeling towards the poor and helpless, and what the author calls an atmosphere of 'humiliation' and even decadence, as though there would never be 'glad confident morning' again.

To revert again to the *Iliad*, one of its great puzzles lies in the fact that, though the heroes are undoubtedly the Achæan conquerors of Greece, they are set in an environment and civilisation that can only belong to the conquered Pelasgians, which they must have assimilated and made their own. This may partly explain anachronisms and inconsistencies, through all of which, however, the unity of action, atmosphere and characterisation is astonishingly maintained. Gladstone in his 'Slicing of Hector' showed how consistent is his character throughout, even in suspected sections of the book.

Professor Routh follows the epic spirit as it gradually dissipated itself in later times, pointing out especially the changed attitude to life in Hesiod, and he further goes down with the adventurous hero of the *Aeneid* into the Lower World, to find enlightenment there, the intellectual hero now finally displacing the warrior. The book ends with a skilful diagnosis of the character of Aeneas and shows him not as a 'man contemptible,' but a leader of tenacity and admirable resolution, who in carrying out a mission from the gods is sorely tried and beset, but wins through it all at the last.

We have one slight quarrel with Professor Routh, in reference to his spelling of the old names. Why Mykenai, but Troy? why Diomed and Priam, but Hektor and Hekabe? why Medea as well as Medeia? why Jovian and Achæans? why Herodotos and why not Achilleus? Kirke looks like a modern name, and Theognis, apparently for Theogonia (?), is puzzling.

C. R. H.

Ἀλκαίου Μέλη. *The Fragments of Alcaeus*. Edited by E. LOBEL. Pp. xciv + 74. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.

THIS is an admirable piece of work, but must be taken, as the author tells us, in close conjunction with his *Sappho*. The text is edited with the same precision, austerity, and thoroughness as that of *Sappho*, and will satisfy the most exacting scholar or papyrologist. But the important part of the book, which is also the longer, is the Introduction, in which the close discussion of the Lesbian dialect, as seen in the vocabulary and diction of these two contemporary writers—the 'double pipes' of Aeolian song—is carried on and supplemented. A searching analysis puts us in possession of all the information that can be extracted, we might almost say extorted, from the surviving fragments. Starting with the premise, that

'the character of a vernacular is, broadly speaking, such as to preclude the use of more than one form to correspond to a single meaning or function.' Mr. Lobel shows that on this assumption Sappho wrote more nearly as she spoke than Alcaeus. This is established for the great bulk of her extant poems, but there is a small section of these practically always associated with a particular form of metre (dactylic), in which many alien forms, derived mainly from the epic tradition, appear. Hence Mr. Lobel's division of her poems into normal and abnormal. In contradistinction to her, Alcaeus sprinkles *his* abnormalities (borrowed, conventional, or traditional locutions) over all his work. Alcaeus therefore allows himself more freedom in his divergence from the vernacular. Sappho confines her divagations to poems of a more epic character and metre than her ordinary ones.

The marshalling by Mr. Lobel of all the available data on this subject, and the sound deductions which he draws, throw valuable light upon the Lesbian dialect and provide us with a most useful criterion of Sappho's vocabulary and style. But it must not be forgotten that the material on which we have to rely for our conclusions is so meagre—in Sappho's case certainly not more than 6 per cent., or about 500 lines out of not less than 8000—that we are scarcely justified in pronouncing such a poem as the *Marriage of Hector and Andromache* spurious, as our editor and Wilamowitz do, because it contains many forms alien to the Lesbian vernacular, and is, moreover, written line by line and not in stanzas. But bring on an epic subject it surely might be allowed to conform to the epic traditions here and there. Why should not Sappho try her hand at the 'classical or traditional style' as much as Burns when he wrote in the English idiom, or our own vernacular poet Wordsworth when he deserted his homespun material for the classical Laodameia? Moreover, as Mr. Lobel admits, this particular poem of Sappho's is exceptionally well attested in those book texts, which he sets so much higher than the quotation codices. It is true that but for this attestation few would have taken Sappho for the author of it. Even such charming and characteristic fragments as the 'Night Vigil,' the Hyacinth trodden down by the careless Shepherds, and the lyric on Kleis, are sacrificed to the exacting claims of a theory. Let it be admitted that they are not specifically ascribed to Sappho and contain abnormalities, yet may not the intuitive sense of style be occasionally allowed to override a want of attestation? For instance, there are golden passages in the play of *Edward III.*, which no one but Shakespeare could have written, yet that play was never associated with his name. Moreover, if Sappho is ruled out, we have to find a 'victorious pen' like hers that could have written them. Still Mr. Lobel's confident rejection of these captain 'jewels' makes one a little uneasy, and we long for the discovery, perhaps in the buried libraries of Herculaneum so happily to be excavated by the new Pittacus of Italy, of a complete Sappho, to test these conclusions, so convincingly presented to us by Mr. Lobel.

Among the many incidental results of his inquiry is the establishment of such interesting facts as that Lesbian does not use $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\iota$ in the simple sense of 'is' and 'are,' but omits them or substitutes $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\tau\tau\iota$ and its plural; that $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ does not occur in Lesbian, its place being taken by $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$, which has three forms, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\phi$, the last two in Sappho only as compounded. Mr. Lobel seems to say that $\tau\omicron\iota$ is not a form of $\sigma\omicron\iota$, but he admits that it does duty for it 'in one or two places,' whatever that phrase may do duty for. As we are so much engaged with style in this book, it may not be out of place to remark that the English style of the Introduction is cumbrous, and some involved sentences in it require close reading before their meaning is clearly grasped. There are also one or two strange locutions—shall we call them abnormalities?—such as, 'catch the hearing of' as a translation of $\acute{\chi}\iota\omega$, and 'infer to,' which appears to mean form an inference that leads to a certain conclusion. The treatment of the text cannot be discussed in this short review. Let it suffice to say that it is in every way worthy of the highest English scholarship. We may be exacting, but we find two desiderata still—a concordance of all the words found in the fragments of Sappho and Alcaeus, with the abnormalities in diction, function, or metre duly noted, and a detailed and documented life of Alcaeus. To understand his writings we must know more of his *dura navis, dura fugae mala, dura belli*.

C. R. H.

The Classical Tradition in Poetry; the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures. By GILBERT MURRAY. Pp. xi + 274. Oxford University Press, 1927. 12s. 6d.

IN this suggestive book Professor Murray sets out to prove the extent and permanence of the Classical Tradition in modern literature. For our own, he subjects Milton's Epic and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* to a penetrative analysis, which makes us realise how completely the classical mode and the classical spirit have been absorbed by Milton, and have even entered into the work of Shakespeare, the prince of the Romantics, himself. The deep-seated connexion between the Orestes Myth and the Hamlet Saga is brought out in a surprising manner; but we are driven to the conclusion, in view of the extraordinary resemblance between the basic elements of the two dramatisations of the story, that, as Shakespeare could hardly have gone for his inspiration to the Orestes legend, there must have been an earlier source from which the two streams of tradition flowed, with the somewhat depressing result that this source is to be found in the early Vegetation Myths of our common ancestors of primitive ages, in which the Spirit of Summer is slain by the advance of Winter, but in the new Spring rises again from the dead, or, in its varied form, the 'Year-King' comes first as a wintry slayer, weds the queen, grows proud and royal, and then is slain by the Avenger of his predecessor. . . . Thus Orestes, the madman and king-slayer, takes his place beside Brutus the Fool, who expelled the Tarquins and Amlodi the Fool, who burnt King Feng at his winter feast.' But the bulk of the book treats of the genesis of poetry and the drama from the old Molpe, the dance *cum* song of the Greek, the subject of which was 'Love, Strife, Death, and that which is beyond Death,' and its inspiration Nature-worship. To this followed drama, not a mere picture, but a re-creation of life (*παρουσία*) raised to its *n*th power. Our author here takes us through the pleasant paths of metre and diction to the essentials of unity and construction, pointing out by the way many points of interest and beauty hitherto unsuspected by us. The *curiosa felicitas* of Horace comes in for its due commendation with the comment that some of his felicitous passages are untranslatable. But this is an unprofitable truism; for the structure, the words, their cadences and associations, of different languages can never, at least in poetry, be equated. But is there much amiss, for instance, in these versions of his two 'inimitable' passages, which the Professor will (I hope) pardon an 'irresponsible reviewer' from offering?

Glad with the present, let the heart awhile
Forget the future, and with patient smile
Make sorrow sweet: no earthly joy
Is free from all alloy.
Swift death cut short Achilles' glorious day,
Tithonus wasted with old age away. . . . (Odes, II. 16.)

and so on. Or this for the other:

Enjoy the laughter's merry peal
From yon far corner borne,
That doth the lurking girl reveal,
Or a bright forfeit torn
From finger or from wrist, that feigns but to resist. (Odes, I. 9.)

A chapter follows on the Heroic Age as a common setting for the grand style in poetry. Later, when heroes were not to be had, chivalry and the magnified glories of mediævalism had to do duty instead. One modern race alone, the Icelanders, were able to draw inspiration from their own heroes, and the Icelandic Sagas, in a country cut off from all contact with Greek and Roman cultures, afford the nearest parallel to the simplicity and grandeur of the Homeric Epos. Here Professor Murray notes the unexpected and disquieting fact that Christianity, in its most characteristic and truest elements, has had so small an influence on great poetry. In *Paradise Lost* the part that excites the most interest and admiration is that of Satan, the Prometheus of the Christian Epic.

But it is impossible in our limited space to point out all that is striking in this work of a poet and scholar. But does he not run off the rails in his reference to Thamyris, the

Thracian singer, whom, on the authority of an obscure scholiast on Aratus, he identifies with the *Kneeler* (ἐν γόνυσιν) of the Constellation described in the *Phaenomena* (l. 63)? This cannot be anyone else in the world, surely, but Hercules, who is the 'Kneeler,' $\kappa\kappa\tau'$ ἐξόχτρν, from Chaldaean times onwards.

C. R. H.

Homer's Ithaca, a Vindication of Tradition. By SIR RENNELL RODD. Pp. 160. London: Arnold, 1927. 6s.

Alt-Ithaka, ein Beitrag zur Homer-Frage; Studien und Ausgrabungen auf der Insel Leukas-Ithaka. By WILHELM DÖRPFELD. 2 vols. Pp. xv + 442, 89 bound and 20 separate plates. Munich: R. Uhde, 1927.

'MANY years ago,' when Sir Rennell Rodd was a secretary at the British Legation in Athens, Dr. Dörpfeld unfolded to him his theory that the actual Thiaki was not the Homeric Ithaca, and that the Homeric Ithaca was the actual Leucas or Santa Maura. Sir Rennell 'remained sceptical,' and waited for an opportunity of visiting Ithaca. This occurred in September 1926, when 'the ketch *Ino*,' after an adventurous voyage from Naples, anchored in Port Vathy. Sir Rennell then explored the island, and in very taking prose has given us a description of it, to be added to those of Gell, Bowen, and Victor Bérard. His object, the vindication of tradition, hardly needed the risks he ran, for outside the inhabitants of Santa Maura there are few people who believe that Thiaki is not Ithaca. Moreover, the Method of Agreement is only too easy of application; almost any island of the required size in the required latitude will agree wonderfully with the *Odyssey*. Not long since a Frenchman ran Ischia for the stakes. Sir Rennell does not confine himself to Ithaca, he surveys a wider field, and seems influenced by the outworn idea that Achaeans came from the North, and that Meges' Dulichium 'has become detached from the combination which formed the Homeric dominion of Odysseus' (p. 80). My good friend Meges blinds the eyes of Bérard, Dörpfeld and now Sir Rennell. He further makes Dulichium one of the Echinades and gives it a territory to the east. But as the reviewer, who heard Sir Rennell lecture at Oxford on the subject, thought at the time, three thousand years ago the hinterland of the Echinades was either entirely water or at best *laguna morta*, and where Meges found men for his forty ships and what the fifty-two Dulichian suitors lived on is hard to imagine.

Herr Dörpfeld holds to his position, and far from temporising carries the war into his enemies' country. *A quelque chose malheur est bon*; Dörpfeld's paradox has given the world two fine volumes in which we have a review of the controversy, a description of Ithaca, and finally an elaborate account of the exploration and excavation of Leucas, with an abundance of photographs and plans. Dogma is binding with Dörpfeld, and the Niese view of the Catalogue and the poems generally is sufficient to put his compass out; but it must go to the veteran archaeologist's credit that he has always maintained the substantial value of the Homeric poems for history and for geography, and incurred by so doing undeserved obloquy.

T. W. A.

Homer, Dichtung und Sage; zweiter Band, Odyssee, Kyklos, Zeitbestimmung; dritter Band, die Sage vom Troischen Kriege. By ERICH BETHE. Pp. 392, 194. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1922, 1927. 12 and 10 M.

MR. BETHE analyses the *Odyssey* by methods similar to and not more convincing than those which he employed in his well-known book on the *Iliad*. He admits that, as it stands, the poem has a tolerably consistent design, the work of one man's choice and artistry. But the kind of 'unity' which he concedes to a work patched together by some anonymous poet of the sixth century from at least three independent epic narratives, with many cuts, additions, transpositions and filling up of gaps, is something very different from the organic unity admired by Aristotle. Indeed Mr. Bethe declares that the lost Cycle had precisely

the same 'unity' as both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; but that is precisely what Aristotle denied. So long as critics operate with Kirchoff's triple scheme, Telemachy, Nostos, Revenge, their analyses will continue to differ widely in their explanations of alleged defects in the completed epic, but will all alike—Mr. Bethe is no exception—utterly fail to account for its merits, in particular for the subtle interplay of themes which runs through the whole work. On the Cycle Mr. Bethe is far more convincing, partly because he is content to accept Proclus as on the whole a reliable authority, partly because his notion of a 'unity' imposed by a late poet on the mass of traditional stories by a somewhat arbitrary and mechanical process of joinery fits the facts much better here. His collection of fragments and testimonies and his ingenious reconstructions are both useful and entertaining as a complement to Mr. Allen's indispensable work. With the section on dating we pass again to a region where only convinced Wolfians are likely to be persuaded. Wackernagel's masterly work on Attic forms in Homer (*Sprachliche Untersuchungen*, Göttingen, 1916) was the happy result of an inquiry from Bethe as to the linguistic evidence. After all allowance is made for 'surface corruption' and for our ignorance of old Attic and old Chian, the linguistic argument seems to support the view that something quite important happened to the text under Attic influence somewhere about the time of Peisistratus. But any such elaborate reshaping of the poems as is postulated by Bethe's theory finds no support in Wackernagel's careful statement of the evidence, and Bethe's own arguments, archaeological and critical, will not bear investigation. It is not true that the mention of a temple must imply a date not earlier than the seventh century, or that only an Attic poet could make Athene prominent in his work, or that the naming of Nestor's son Peisistratus must have been meant as a compliment to the Athenian despot. The attempt to prove that the whole epic corpus, *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Cyclic poems, first took form as a connected whole in Athens, definitely fails. But it is on this assumption that, in the last section of his book, Mr. Bethe discusses the relation of the saga, the material of the epic, to historical events. Here myth and fact are handled more fantastically than in any ancient tradition. Troy, we are told, was never sacked by Achaeans, and the Greeks knew little of the Troad for some centuries after the sixth city was destroyed. Agamemnon was never King of Mycenae, Lord of Argos. The two Ajaxes were once identical, and neither really had a home. The heroes are representatives of tribes or faded gods, not men of flesh and blood. Before the doctrine of universal *Sagenverschiebung*, common-sense and archaeological data become as unimportant as the Greek tradition. As for recent Hittite revelations, Mr. Bethe does not argue. He simply tells us they can safely be ignored.

J. T. S.

Select Greek Coins: A series of enlargements illustrated and described. By GEORGE F. HILL. Pp. 61, with 64 plates. Paris and Brussels: Vanoest, 1927.

COINS reproduced thrice their size; brief description; and an essay on the art of the Greek coin-maker. Mr. Hill observes in his preface that the book is an experiment. It is a valuable one. High magnification has disadvantages; but it does sort coins out. It lays weaknesses bare (even last-minute additions to the design like the curls at temple and nape in Pl. 27, 3), and only the best survives the test. And of course it reveals much interesting detail. Even a numismatist, I think, will admit that not everything in Mr. Hill's plates was familiar to him before he opened the book.

The selection of coins, as one would expect, is an excellent one. The coins chosen are not all of the first water; but if the choice had been confined to the best, it would have given a less complete picture of Greek coinage. Few Hellenistic coins would have got in; Pl. 46 is an exposure, and even the portraits do not precisely gain by enlargement, as comparison with Imhoof-Blumer's *Portratköpfe* will show.

The photographs are from the coin, not, as is usual, from the cast. There is much to be said for this, especially in magnifications; but the task of the photographer is harder. Much of Mr. Macbeth's work is most successful; that his lighting has not always been perfect he must be well aware (Pl. 1, 3, Pl. 26, 1, Pl. 29, 1): lips are particularly troublesome (Pl. 20, 2), and the high light on the background by the nose (Pl. 11, 1).

The introductory essay could hardly be improved. It has that conciseness and that enlightened good-sense which are characteristic of the author. It makes the easiest of reading: but at the end one is surprised how many aspects of a large subject have been dealt with, and how well.

One or two small points raised by the descriptions. Pl. 37, 6 (Peparethus), winged boots, not sandals—the putting-on-piece shows in front. Pl. 38, 6 (Himera), hasn't she three garments—Ionic chiton, Ionic himation, mantle? Pl. 39, 3 (Selinus), may one not say a heron? Pl. 41, 4 (Thasos), running, not kneeling. Pl. 42, 6 (Stymphalus), isn't this just Herakles, without reference to the Birds?—the club is no weapon for that exploit. Pl. 43, 2 (Phaestus), is the cock there as 'a symbol of ephebic beauty' (p. 24) and not simply because Zeus Welchanos is a boy, and boys like cocks? Pl. 53, 4 (Cnidus), [Th]eobōlos?

It might have been pointed out, in the section on archaism, that neither the Thasian coin pl. 40, 4, nor the Demetrian pl. 44, 5, is straight work of its period: since the one imitates the gate-relief of the city, and the other archaism in the drapery at least.

A very nice book.

J. D. B.

The Great War between Athens and Sparta: A Companion to the Military History of Thucydides. By BERNARD W. HENDERSON, D.Litt. Pp. xiv + 517, with 29 maps. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1927. 18s.

DR. HENDERSON'S book is intended primarily to help students of Thucydides at schools and universities, and is so designed as not to exclude from benefit those students who, having no knowledge of Greek, must read the historian in an English translation. It carries the story of the war beyond Thucydides' eighth book to the end of the struggle. As its main interest is military, it is not surprising that the chapters which seek to elucidate the strategy and the tactics involved in the varied operations of the war will probably be felt by most readers to be the most helpful in the book. The very clear sketch-maps added to these chapters greatly enhance their value. But in other chapters where Dr. Henderson has to treat of the personalities or politics of the period he has many things to say which command attention. Specialist students will perhaps find his book suggestive rather than final; but those readers whose business is not to pursue controverted points through the whole range of the controversy, but who are rather in the position of the Oxford undergraduates of these days who must read three books of Thucydides 'in Jowett's translation,' will find the volume a valuable aid to their comprehension of the story.

P. A. S.

A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty. By EDWYN BEVAN, O.B.E., D.Litt., LL.D. Pp. xxi + 409: 62 illustrations and a map. London: Methuen & Co., 1927. 15s.

THIS new history of the Ptolemies is very welcome: it supplies a careful summary of the voluminous literature which has been produced in recent years concerning this period in Egyptian annals, and fills up the gaps in the brilliant but partial account given in Mahaffy's volume, which it replaces in the series. It was inevitable, as Mr. Bevan explains in his preface, that this volume should be rewritten, and it is somewhat unfortunate that a few relics of the first edition still appear, such as the antiquated map of Alexandria and some poor illustrations—e.g. Fig. 8; the old incorrect descriptions still stand in one or two places—in Fig. 19, 'Ptolemaic coin with head of Sarapis,' the head is actually of Ammon—or have been inadequately revised. The legend under Fig. 30 is rather typical of the need for more drastic treatment: Mahaffy entitled it 'Syrian coin of Philometor (struck while he was at Antioch)': Svoronos has shown that the series to which this coin belongs was probably issued at Lebedus under Philadelphus or Euergetes I; and the title now runs 'Syrian coin of Ptolemy II or III (struck at Lebedus)': where the retention of 'Syrian' makes the whole self-contradictory.

Where Mr. Bevan has had a clear field, as in Chapters IV and V, on 'the people, the cities, the court' and 'the system of government,' which were outside the scheme of his predecessor, his treatment could hardly be bettered, and these two chapters make one wish that he had been able to forget Mahaffy's existence throughout the book. There may be some differences from him on points of interpretation: for instance, he does not seem to date the revival of the Egyptian nationalist spirit early enough: there are distinct signs of it under Philadelphus, and the arrangements in regard to the *apomoira* (of which his view as stated on p. 185 is sounder than that commonly taken) may well have been an attempt on the part of the king to secure control over the growing power of the priests without alienating them. Again, his remarks that under the Romans 'the native Egyptian-speaking mass was thrust again definitely into a subject position beneath Greeks and Romans' (p. 87), and that the process of fusion of Greeks and natives into one Egyptian people was checked by Rome (p. 166), are hardly in accordance with the evidence available, which seems to show that the Roman conquest diminished rather than increased the distinction between the Greeks and the Egyptians. He is perhaps rather inclined to over-estimate the importance of the Greeks and their institutions in Egypt: an example may be found in his treatment of the gymnasium. It is hard to believe that the gymnasia in the provincial towns ever served 'something of the purpose of a University for the young men' (p. 83): such references to them as exist suggest that they were very insignificant affairs, and there is nothing to show that they did any educational work: they appear rather to have been social clubs. Even if we assume the purpose of a University to be training in sport, they did not achieve much of note: the games at Alexandria were mainly frequented by competitors from abroad, and it is not till Roman times that athletes appear as representing Egyptian towns, and then only under circumstances which suggest that they were hired like modern professional footballers.

The slight shifting in perspective involved in these suggestions does not imply a doubt of the general truth of the picture: they are rather concerned with details, and some minor points of a similar kind may be noted.

In his account of Alexander, Mr. Bevan does not distinguish between the Greek Ammon (who, as the note on p. 295 shows, was regarded as genuinely Greek in Egypt) and the Theban Amen imported into the story by the Romance (which on p. 3 he recognises as a later concoction). There is no contemporary evidence connecting Alexander with Amen, except in so far as the latter had come to be equated with Ammon of Cyrene at the Oasis of Siwah.

It does not seem necessary to doubt Strabo's account of the office-bearers at Alexandria (p. 101). Even if Alexandria was an 'autonomous' city-state, the police and judiciary may have been imperial officials, as they are in London. The reason why he did not mention the gymnasiarch as a city officer was doubtless that, as van Groningen has shown, the gymnasiarch never was such an officer: in fact, in Ptolemaic times he was comparatively unimportant. If we may not accept Strabo's evidence—the evidence of a good observer, in a position to obtain full information about what had existed barely ten years before—it is difficult to find much to believe in historians.

The numismatic references require some corrections. Mr. Robinson's catalogue of Cyrenaic coins presumably appeared too late to clear up Mr. Bevan's difficulties about Berenice on p. 75. The coins with two eagles are not specially characteristic of the joint reign of Philometor and Euergetes II, as implied on p. 286: the two eagles first occur under Philadelphus and are found from time to time till the closing years of Ptolemaic rule. The head-dress of Isis was not a Cyrenaic type, and did not disappear till long after 110 B.C.; neither in it nor in the double cornucopiae is there any personal reference to be traced (p. 329). The coins of Antony mentioned on p. 375 were not issued or circulated in Egypt: those with his head were struck at Athens (with Latin legends—see B.M.C. Roman Republic) and in Syria (with Greek legends—see Svoronos): those with a simple title are possibly Cyrenaic, as suggested by Svoronos, but are certainly not Egyptian in fabric, and so far as I know are never found in Egypt.

Finally, it is regrettable that Mr. Bevan has revised the numbering of the Ptolemies once more. The real use of numbers in a case like this is to distinguish individuals in a family which did not give distinctive names to its members, not to mark their succession

to power; and it does not matter whether the numbers assigned are logically correct so long as they are generally accepted. No one proposes to alter Napoleon III into II, or to inquire whether Smith quartus should not logically be Smith tertius in view of his position at school.

However, though we may occasionally differ from Mr. Bevan, or regard facts from another standpoint than his, this does not affect our appreciation of his book, which not only makes a valuable contribution to the disentanglement of a complicated story, but also provides a comprehensive guide for the student, clearly and interestingly written, which is fully able to bear comparison with any previous work on the subject.

J. G. M.

A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica. By E. S. G. ROBINSON. Pp. cclxxv + 154: 47 plates. London: British Museum, 1927.

THIS volume fully maintains the high standard reached by its predecessors in the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, and in some respects improves on them, notably in the wealth of description of specimens not in the Museum, which makes it for most purposes a Corpus, and in the arrangement of the plates, where these specimens are illustrated in the way most convenient for the student. It is, of course, impracticable now to abandon the rather clumsy format adopted for the series more than half a century ago; but the entries in the Catalogue proper have been grouped so as to make the classification as clear as possible within the limitations imposed by precedent.

Those who are not numismatists will find much useful matter in the introduction, which is twice as long as the actual description of the coins in the Museum, and deals with various points of more general interest. Especially valuable are the sections on the deities who appear as types on the Cyrenaic issues—Ammon, Lycacus, Carneius, Cyrene, and Libya—of whom the first and third are the most important; and Mr. Robinson's account suggests a question which might repay further investigation in the light of his minute description of the coin-types—whether the horned head of Alexander introduced by Lysimachus was derived not from Ammon but from Carneius. It is clear that it had nothing to do with the Egyptian Amen-ra of Thebes, whose horns were quite different.

There is one fish which seems to have escaped even Mr. Robinson's net: in his discussion of coins assigned to Cyrenaica he does not mention the bronze pieces with the names of Antony and Cleopatra and nothing more, which were classed as Cyrenaic by Svoronos. They are not of very distinctive fabric, but they look more Cyrenaic than Egyptian: they are certainly not Syrian; and they deserved notice, even if it were only for formal dismissal.

J. G. M.

Griechische Städteanlagen. By A. VON GERKAN. Pp. xiv + 173, with 20 plates. Berlin and Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1924.

THE twenty plates at the end of the volume constitute a very valuable part of it. They are, largely, plans—either in actual state or restored—of Greek (particularly Ionian) sites, but there are the Roman ones of Pompeii, Veii, Caerwent and Timgad. There are also plates illustrating plans and sections of the oval houses at ancient Iassos and detailed plans of the markets, etc., at Priene, Miletos and Assos. Three of the site plans show contour lines and the others have indications of level by the more pictorial method. The prevalence of the 'gridiron' plan is very marked, being practically, in the Greek residential element, invariable. At Miletos, of course, where the site is on an irregular promontory, the dispositions of the public quarters appear to be accommodated to the divided town quarters. A more rigid arrangement can be seen at Priene and Cnidos, particularly the latter. Both Timgad and Caerwent show more definite town-planning than any of the Greek sites. Pompeii is definitely arranged, but contorted. Timgad is the ideal Roman

plan, with its perfect bisection of a residential square by a broad main street, having a subsidiary axis at its centre; but there is also an assertion of the main street principle at Knidos. This principle resolved itself ultimately into the mediaeval plan with 'burgages,' illustrated in the developed Edwardian plans in England, such as Flint. The author's remarks (p. 7) on the importance of the citadel and the market in Greek town plans are interesting.

T. F.

The Architecture of Ancient Greece. By W. J. ANDERSON and R. P. SPIERS. Revised and rewritten by WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. Pp. x + 241; figs. 83; plates LXV; with maps, glossary, index and chronological tables. London: Batsford, 1927. 21s.

THIS is in every respect an admirable republication. The excellence of the original book is not lost, and the careful judgment of its original authors is illuminated by the subsequent evidence that is now included by Mr. Dinsmoor. The first chapter on the architecture of the Aegean Age is excellent reading. It fits harmoniously on to the remainder of the book, thanks to Mr. Dinsmoor's careful scholarship and deep architectural knowledge. It gives as good a summary as could be hoped for of the architecture of this dark period. The remainder of the book is brought up to date in all detail partly by insertion and partly by the addition of lucid footnotes.

Naturally in a handbook of this kind there is little controversial matter. Consequently there is little for a reviewer to criticise. I should prefer to impute any faults Mr. Dinsmoor may have committed to the archaeologists, from whom at times he is compelled to draw his conclusions. The hypothesis of one archaeologist is all too often repeated as fact by another. From him it is taken by the archaeological world as established truth. Thus Mr. Dinsmoor in summarising the history of prehistoric Greece talks glibly about Achæan and 'Minyan' invasions, with exact dates, about the moves of 'Ukrainian tumulus folk,' and so forth, as if it were all happily fixed and settled. This is due to no fault of his. He has asked the archaeologists and they have given him in their answers the certainty that is bred of partisanship. He talks again of the 'Achæan invasion of Crete' (p. 38) in 1400 B.C., and of Mycenæ, as catastrophic events. But the catastrophe of the former may not be due to human agency at all, and the Achæans are not known to have stormed or sacked Mycenæ. Then, while we are told that the Tholos tombs are found in their earliest forms in Crete between 2700 and 2000 B.C., we are told that the practice of building them was abandoned and revived later 'on the Greek mainland by the Achæan invaders' after 1400 B.C. (p. 47). All this is nice and simple and it is what the archaeologists told him. But the only certain fact is the Cretan origin of this tomb-type. The rest is wild hypothesis, here stated as fact. The sins of the archaeologists are visited upon the architects, and, unless someone intervenes, unto many generations.

The illustrations are of the first order and up to date. The only one which might have been omitted is the restoration of Eleusis, a horrible affair (Pl. LVIII). Since the architectural sculptures of Selinus are mentioned, there might have been some mention also of the earliest sculptures found there.

The book can be most strongly commended to all students provided they accept much of Chapter I with reserve.

S. C.

Selections from Menander. Edited by W. G. WADDELL. Pp. xxxvi + 182. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 7s. 6d.

THIS book by one of the lecturers in classics at Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, makes it its object 'to bring a glimpse' of Menander 'before our colleges and the upper forms of schools,' and fills a real gap in the apparatus for teaching Greek, nothing quite like it having apparently been attempted before. Continuous pieces, chosen for 'stability of the text and interest of the content,' principally, of course, from the *Ἐπιτετραμένους*, make

up about half the selection. The remainder is drawn from the fragments of the 'old' Menander and includes a large number of two-line and single-line gnomes as well as longer passages. Altogether, therefore, junior students are given the opportunity of acquainting themselves with every aspect of Menander as he yet survives, and an introduction and copious (perhaps rather too copious) notes supply them with all needful assistance. The book is decidedly to be recommended.

V. S.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Great Britain, Fascicule 3 = Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1. By J. D. BEAZLEY. Great Britain, Fascicule 4 = British Museum 3. By. H. B. WALTERS. London: Humphrey Milford, 1927. Paris: Champion.

It is satisfactory to find the contents of the first Oxford Fascicule of the Corpus belonging to one period. And the fifty plates of Attic red-figured and Attic black vases (with very few additions of later date) show surprisingly few examples of which we feel that the reproduction is too small to be of use; for the proportion of detail photographs is gratifyingly high.

The technical standard of these plates could hardly be improved, and the photographers have excelled in eliminating or reducing to innocuous proportions the reflections that are the bugbear of the camera when dealing with Attic glaze, yet we may regret that Professor Beazley has not everywhere succeeded in preventing them from routing out the background.

The text, which has the advantage of being the work of the greatest living authority on the subject, while it has not a superfluous word, is ampler than that of most fascicules, since the rules of the undertaking permit this when there is little prospect of any other catalogue of the collection appearing within reasonable time. The work is, in fact, designed to serve as a Catalogue, and 'is meant to be used in front of the vases as well as at a distance.' The homogeneous nature of the subject-matter allows the text to be bound, which makes for much greater ease in the use of the book.

This is not the case with the text of the third Fascicule of the British Museum, which includes the Attic black-figured 'Panel amphorae' and red-figured amphorae and stamni of the earlier and ripe archaic periods, the black-figured portion being intended to be combined with part of British Museum Fascicule II, an awkward arrangement. But the text marks plainly in the case of each vase the Catalogue or Inventory number, and in accordance with the rules gives a summary of all essential details, including ample references to the literature, so that the pursuit of knowledge is made as easy as possible.

The plates have fewer detail pictures, but the rows of photographs of the exquisite Attic shapes, standing out clearly against a soft background which has not been interfered with, are a triumph and make this one of the most beautiful numbers that have yet appeared.

J. P. D.

Platonism. By PAUL ELMER MORE. Second edition, revised. Pp. xiv + 317. Princeton University Press, 1926. 13s. 6d.

MR. MORE'S sketch of Platonism when first published in 1917 was not noticed in this *Journal*, and the appearance of a second edition gives us an opportunity to repair the omission. The book deals mainly with the ethical side of Plato's teaching, which is treated, no doubt rightly, as the mainspring of his philosophy. Mr. More's own clear-cut views on the nature of morality are obvious throughout and sometimes, we fear, colour unduly his interpretation of Platonism. He starts from the three Socratic theses of (1) intellectual scepticism (e.g. 'I do not know whether death is an evil'), (2) spiritual affirmation (e.g. 'to do wrong is a shameful thing'), and (3) the rationalistic identification of virtue and knowledge; and his main purpose is to show that these three theses were adopted by Plato as 'the skeleton which . . . gave shape, strength and coherence to all his thought.' The *δαμόνιον* of Socrates, which always took the form of an inhibition, is explained by Mr. More as the 'inner check' or will to refrain, which for him is the central feature of all

morality, and in it he finds the principle of liberty in the Platonic psychology. But if Plato thought that right conduct was mainly due to the operation of this 'inner check,' which Mr. More freely admits to be rationally inexplicable, why should all the abstruse mathematical and dialectical studies of the *Republic* be necessary for the attainment of true virtue? Mr. More is an enthusiastic dualist and he positively glories in the dualism of Plato. Any sensible philosophy, he thinks, is bound to be dualistic, and 'the effort to find some intellectual reconciliation of the irreconcilable' is treated as 'a futile presumption of metaphysics,' where we may note the unkind distinction between philosophy and metaphysics, for the latter of which Mr. More has no use whatever. The object of the destructive criticism of the *Parmenides* was to show 'that Ideas do not come to us by a process of metaphysical logic, but by means of some direct experience independent of such logic'; for in spite of the fact that Plato never attempts to meet his own criticisms, he clings throughout to the existence of Ideas. But here again we may ask, what then was the use of all the elaborate intellectual discipline of the *Republic*? When he says that Plato's Ideas are 'not derived intellectually,' but are 'the imaginative projections of the facts of moral consciousness,' he seems to be right, but Plato himself would have been the last person in the world to admit the impeachment.

Mr. More speaks with a moralist's fervour of the distinction between pleasure and 'the rapture or peace or happiness . . . of obedience to a higher law than our own personal or physical desires.' This is sound Platonism; but when he says that 'to the true Platonist the divine spirit . . . always, when it speaks directly in the human breast, makes itself heard as an inhibition,' we do not believe him. Has the 'higher law' no positive content? Does noble conduct always involve a conscious inhibition of the lower by the higher? To speak plainly, the perpetual conflict of lower and higher is likely to lead to profound irritation rather than to happiness. The fact is that Mr. More's whole theory of morality is too negative. There is a positive aspect of goodness expressed in a nobler formula than Mr. More's 'inner check,' namely, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'; and there is surely something positive in Plato's Ideas. Mr. More will have no truck with any theory which tends to weaken the sense of evil. For instance, any attempt to bring it into connexion with a First Cause, as Plotinus did when he treated it as the vanishing point of Good, is censured as tending to destroy its reality. Even to seek an explanation of evil is thus fraught with peril, and it must be allowed to remain its dark inexplicable self.

It will be gathered from these remarks that Mr. More's book is provocative, but a provocative book is often a good book. Many will not agree with Mr. More's moral theories, but no one can read this interesting and scholarly work without profit. It is full of good things well said, and we are grateful to the author for so stimulating a study of a noble subject.

J. H. S.

Die griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit. Nach drei in Athen gehaltenen Vorträgen. By OTTO KERN. Pp. ix + 79. Berlin: Weidmann, 1927. M. 3.60.

As these lectures are an exposition, in popular form, of the author's views, already known from his published works, or to be set forth in the future volumes of his *Religion der Griechen*, detailed criticism of them would be out of place. They are pleasant reading, for Kern has imagination enough to enter sympathetically into the feelings of those for whom ancient ritual was intended, and aptly compares the effect of an elaborate modern Greek religious ceremony at Mt. Athos. The titles of the lectures are *Eleusis*, *Samothrake*, *Orpheus*, which are sufficiently explanatory of their contents. A welcome addition to the little work is the republication, in a revised form, of part of the author's monograph, *Eleusinische Beiträge*, originally published at Halle in 1909, and now out of print and hard to procure. It ends, in its present form, with a very dubious attempt to prove, against the plain sense of Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, 1111 a 10, that Aeschylus was an initiate. Another ill-judged comment is on p. 60, where, speaking of Tertullian's words *cur rapitur sacerdos Cereris, si non tale Ceres passa est?* Kern says, 'es hindert doch wohl nichts, das rapi auf das Irren der Demeter

zu beziehen,' which credits Tertullian with very strange Latin indeed and wholly neglects the context (*ad nat.*, II, 7). But there are other and better things in this section.

H. J. R.

Greek and Roman Folklore. By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. xi + 154. London: G. G. Harrap & Co., 1927. 5s.

THIS is one of the best and most interesting volumes of *Our Debt to Greece and Rome* that have yet appeared. The fact that it forms part of a popular series should not deter specialists from reading it, for it contains, although in a short and untechnical form, the results of long and able study of an intricate subject. Besides preface, notes and bibliography it has four chapters, 'Introductory,' 'Superstitious Beliefs and Practices,' 'Folk-tales and Fables,' and 'The Classical and Mediaeval Traditions.' The first is largely methodological, and full of good sense, particularly in its recognition of the limits of our knowledge. The second gives a number of apposite modern parallels, from savages and peasants of to-day or of recent times, to a number of customs which survived more or less in the background of Greek and Roman culture. Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book is the third, which treats the highly complex problem of the relation of Greek *marchen* to those of other countries, and in general of ancient to modern *märchen*, with the knowledge of a first-rate folklorist and the sanity which the most learned do not always possess. The last chapter deals with the impressions which the bygone civilisations left in the minds of mediaeval barbarians, Eastern and Western. The bibliography, which makes no attempt at completeness, is well chosen, and the notes interesting and judicious.

H. J. R.

Gebet und Opfer: Studien zum griechischen Kultus. By FRIEDRICH SCHWENN. Pp. vii + 144. Heidelberg: Winter, 1927.

THIS interesting little work is the author's *Habilitationsschrift*, approved by the Faculty of Philosophy at Rostock. The first part is concerned with the history of prayer-formulae in Greece. It begins with the simplest known, the Eleusinian $\xi\epsilon\ \chi'\epsilon\zeta$; it then proceeds to analyse the Elean hymn to Dionysos, but in a manner which shows that the author's reading, especially in non-German literature, is not up to date nor very profound. Thus, he assumes that $\text{HP}\Omega$ is the vocative (elsewhere unknown) of $\zeta\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ in the technical sense of that word, neglecting both the fact pointed out by Mr. A. B. Cook, that we can get normal Greek and at least as good sense by interpreting the letters as $\zeta\epsilon\rho'$ $\tilde{\omega}$, and the consideration that if $\zeta\epsilon\omega$ is correct it may perfectly well mean simply 'lord.' Again, in citing the Delphic paean to Dionysos, he retains the exploded reading $\beta\epsilon\chi\tilde{\iota}\tau\alpha$ in line 2, where it has been shown impossible by Vollgraff, rightly followed by Powell. There are better things in his analysis, which occupies the next section, of the prayers of Chryses in A and Agamemnon in Γ , although he shows a rather grotesque amount of respect for the fancies of separatist critics, and here and there painfully traces the literary development of elements without which a prayer, in the proper sense of the word, as opposed to a mere cry for help or a very simple charm, could hardly exist. Against such shortcomings may fairly be set the good use made of the anthropological literature beginning with Marett's essay *From Spell to Prayer*, and of psychological material, in speculating on the earliest developments of prayer in Greece and elsewhere.

The second part, which deals with sacrifice, treats chiefly of forms manifestly old and relatively primitive, such as the Buphonia, to which much space is devoted. Here a good deal of the material and also of the interpretations is not new, although it is conveniently brought together here. An important feature is an explanation of the origin of blood sacrifices which the reviewer believes to be, not indeed adequate in itself, but containing in all probability an element of the truth, in the shape of a plausible suggestion of one at least of the lines of thought which may have led to such practices in the days before the well-known theory of *do ut des* (itself very old) was evolved. Schwenn would trace it from

the *mana* of large and powerful beasts; an attempt, he supposes, to secure as it were the essence of their virtue was made by spilling their blood on a solid object such as a stone or stick; this object in time became itself holy, the germ of the future altar, and soon came to be considered the haunt of a god in whose honour, or to feed whom, gifts of blood were made. Here, as elsewhere, his analysis is too intellectualist to be a fully adequate reproduction of very early mental processes: but the suggestion itself is most ingenious and would repay further examination.

H. J. R.

Δίχως Φτερά (1912-15). By SOTIRIS SKIPIS. Le Puy-en-Velay; Imprimerie Peyriller, Rouchon et Gamon, 1918.

Παλάζια Μεσημέρια. By the same. Paris: 'Εκδοτικός οίκος 'Αγών, 1927.

Ανολούδις τῆς Μοναζιάς (1925-26). By the same. Le Puy-en-Velay; Imprimerie 'La Haute-Loire,' 1927.

Patterns from a Grecian Loom. Selections from the Works of the Neo-Greek Poet SOTIRIS SKIPIS, translated from the French by JOHN HARWOOD BACON. London and Woking; Unwin Brothers, Ltd., 1928.

SOTIRIS SKIPIS, the author of the above works and many other volumes of poetry, now living in Provence, has a high reputation as a lyric poet both in Greece and France. The English translation of a selection of his poems will, as far as a translation through a French medium can do this, give English readers, who are unable to read the Greek vernacular, some idea of his poetry. Those who can read and appreciate the originals will find some characteristic specimens in his 'Azure Noondays' and 'Flowers of Solitude.' The range of Dr. Skipis' poetry is so wide that it is impossible to appraise it adequately in a few lines. The poems are generally short, but marked by strong feeling and a sense of beauty and rhythm. They range over an immense variety of subjects—the Classical Greek authors and Classical art, the Byzantine pallikar Digenis Akritas, the heroes of the Greek War of Independence, nature poems (good examples will be found in 'Azure Noondays'), and poems of rather sombre reflection and introspection. Dr. Skipis is also keenly interested in foreign poets. He has translated the 'Endymion' of Keats and poems of Robert Burns. Students of modern Greek poetry in the vernacular will find in him the true descendant of the schools of Solomos and Valaoritis—themselves inspired by popular Greek songs and Klephtic ballads. Certain notes persist throughout all modern popular Greek poetry—an intense love of nature, ardent family affection, and a certain brooding melancholy—exemplified in the ever-recurring figure of Charos—a melancholy no doubt largely due to the fiery trials through which the Greek people have passed since the days of Turkish conquest. Those who wish to discover the soul of modern Greece cannot do better than turn to the pages of Dr. Skipis, who does not shrink from dealing also with recent problems, such as that of the refugees from Asia Minor.

The prose selections entitled 'Without Wings' are fugitive journalistic pieces, written largely in the period of the Balkan wars, but dressed anew in the popular language. Under the circumstances they naturally strike a note of mingled joy and sadness. There are also reminiscences of Parisian and Athenian life, written from Paris and elsewhere.

[Διονυσίου ἢ Λογγίνου] περὶ ὑψους. Edited by P. S. PHOTIADES. Pp. 139. Athens: P. D. Sakellarios, 1927.

THIS is an excellent little edition of the treatise 'On the Sublime.' It consists of a short introduction, text with *apparatus criticus*, index of authors and passages cited in the text, and an index of words. In his preface the editor points out that his is the only Greek edition of the work to appear since that published by Sp. Blandis at Venice in 1802; consequently no apology for the appearance of another Greek edition is needed. The intro-

duction is eminently practical, though modest in tone, and includes a list of previous editions and discusses the question of authorship and date of writing. The editor's conclusions are that at present the treatise must remain anonymous, but that its author may be regarded as a contemporary of Quintilian, who borrowed certain passages from him. In his view anonymity is due to the fact that the author intentionally refrained from publication during his lifetime. As regards the text, the editor has rejected a good many emendations commonly adopted, and has introduced several emendations of his own, but it is clear that his decisions have been reached only after a long and careful study of his author and the work of other scholars.

Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung. By KARL KERÉNYI. Pp. xvi + 275. Tübingen: J. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1927. 16.50 M.

As the title of this work implies, the early Greek romances are here studied from a religious standpoint. The chief Oriental source is held to be the Hellenistic-Egyptian religion, that is to say, primarily the religion of Osiris and Isis. Those who look for attractive features introduced into early Greek romances from such a source will be disappointed, and it cannot be said that the rather difficult style in which the book is written and its extremely rich documentation make it very readable. As the author himself allows, many of the elements which he finds introduced into these romances from Oriental, chiefly religious sources, are rather repulsive. The death and resurrection of Osiris, the wanderings of Isis, crucifixion and transfiguration, and sufferings of all sorts are held to play their part in moulding these romances. A religious element is detected in the erotic parts as well. The treatment of love is indeed very different from the restraint of classical Greek literature, and, it may be added, from that of the later Greek romances, inspired largely by Frankish influence, with which the author does not deal. The romances with which he is concerned are principally those of Chariton, Xenophon of Ephesus, Iamblichus, Heliodorus, Longus and Achilles Tatius, though the 'Ass-romance' and the romance incorporated in the Clementine homilies are also included.

It cannot be denied that these works contain many features closely parallel to those which appear in late Egyptian religion. It is perhaps open to question whether the author may not have rather overworked his theory. He allows, however, some Christian colouring, and admits that the romance-writers aimed at secularising their religious material. He has little to say about the Byzantine romance-writers, such as Prodrômus and Eugenianus. Poor as their romances are, they certainly contain many Oriental features. Still more is this the case with the later Greek romances produced under Frankish influences, such as *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, *Imberios and Margarona*, and the great Cretan romantic poem the *Erotokritos*, with their fondness for the marvellous and their appeals to the forces of nature. There is no doubt that the present work will be of interest to students of religions, for whom it is primarily intended, but it may be allowable to express a regret that his scheme has not permitted the author to dwell more on the human interest which should predominate in works where 'a pair of lovers, first united, and then driven amid all kinds of dangers and temptations over lands and seas, are finally united after well-borne trials.' There can be, however, no question as to the thoroughness and conscientiousness of the work, which is furnished with very complete indexes of great value to the student.

Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung besonders des 10 und 11 Jahrhunderts. (Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft 9.) By FRANZ DÜLGER. Pp. iv + 160; 1 plate. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1927. 10 M.

WHEN in 1915 Mr. Ashburner published in this *Journal* a tract from Cod. Marc. gr. 173, to which he gave the title *A Byzantine Treatise on Taxation*, its importance must at once have been realised by all Byzantinists, who no doubt looked forward with interest to the

fulfilment of the editor's promise to discuss the text later. For the tract contains an explanation of many of the technical terms, and therefore of much of the practice, of the Byzantine financial system, a subject as difficult to the layman as it is important. Important because finance was the very backbone of the Imperial organisation, and in nothing is the contrast more marked between it and the new monarchies of the West, whose haphazard and hand-to-mouth methods of finance were worlds away from the theoretically systematic if in practice often faulty organisation of Byzantium.

Unfortunately various circumstances combined to prevent the fulfilment of Mr. Ashburner's purpose. Now at last, twelve years after publication, the tract, by a curious accident, has been studied by two different scholars simultaneously; for besides the present work Ostrogorsky has devoted to it a lengthy article in the *Vierteljahrsschr. f. Sozial- u. Wirtschaftsgesch.* (xx. 347 ff.), with a translation of the original.

Dr. Dölger in the volume under review reproduces the whole text, correcting some inaccuracies in the original edition and adding at the beginning a section on measurement, which Mr. Ashburner omitted, but which was clearly intended to form an introduction to the treatise, and, at the end of the volume, some further metrological notes found in the same MS. His most valuable contribution to the subject is, however, the commentary at the end and the elaborate introduction, in which, after discussing the authorship and date of the treatise (which he assigns to a lecturer in law, calling it 'eine Art Institutionen der Feldmesserei im Dienste der Steuerverwaltung,' and to the period A.D. 913-1139), he sketches, with special reference to this tract, the whole finance system of the Byzantine Empire. His work seems, as far as the present reviewer is capable of judging, to be excellently done, and he shows a wide acquaintance with the Byzantine sources. The chief defect of his volume is perhaps the inadequate use made of the evidence of papyri. Dölger does indeed refer not infrequently to papyrus texts and to such works as Wilcken's *Grundzüge* and Preisigke's *Wörterbuch*, but he has hardly realised the extent to which they may throw light on later practice, and in particular ignores entirely the documents contained in Vol. IV of the London papyrus catalogue, which, though they refer to Egypt under the 'Umayyād Khalifate, reveal a system which, as Dölger's book shows, is almost purely Byzantine. A comparison between them and the later text is perhaps rather more to the benefit of the papyrologist than of the Byzantinist, and several terms which remained obscure or were wrongly explained in the London volume find their elucidation in Dölger's text; but even his work would have gained a good deal from an examination of the papyrus documents. It may be worth while to call attention to some points of contact.

The two chief words in regard to which the new text helps to elucidate the London documents are *κλίσιμα* and *λογίσματα*. The former is, as Dölger translates it, 'Verfalland,' land which had gone out of cultivation owing to the flight of its holders and, after a period of years, was transferred to new cultivators. Dölger (p. 140) says that it first occurs in this sense in the Chrysobull of Leo III for Athos in 886 (?); but there can be no doubt that it has this sense in P. Lond. 1431, 26, etc. (A.D. 706-7), 1435, 158 (A.D. 715-6) and 1443, 65 (no date), though, as now appears, it was there wrongly explained. Incidentally, Dölger's explanation of the term, that *κλίω* in this connexion meant 'Abbruch tun,' 'schädigen,' seems rather doubtful; may it not simply mean that the land was *broken off* from the rest and booked separately?

The second term, *λογίσματα*, is not illustrated quite so directly. In the Ashburner treatise it refers mainly to Imperial gifts to monasteries, hospitals, etc., and to similar grants; in P. Lond. 1414, the chief source of information as to its earlier use, the *λογίσματα* are sums deducted from the regular tax-quotas for certain specified purposes. But the root idea is the same: *λογίζεσθαι* meant 'aus den Grundsteuerbüchern streichen': in the London texts, rather to *reckon off* the quota owing to assignment for a special purpose.

Dölger discusses (p. 91) the meaning of the word *οικιστικὸς*, which occurs in the treatise, rightly rejecting Müller's explanation as 'einen Beamten für das Bauwesen,' though he leaves the origin of the title obscure. In P. Lond. 1412, 9, 1414, 1, 1433, 14, the word *οικιστικὸς* (ν or -ς) occurs in the heading of accounts, with the sense 'account' or 'register.' How it came to have this sense is not clear, but no doubt the title *οικιστικὸς* may be connected with this earlier use, and perhaps should be translated 'accountant' or 'inspector of accounts.'

In discussing (pp. 94, 99) the registers or terriers of the Arabs the author should certainly have referred to the London volume, where not only have we fragments of several documents of this class, but in one or two of the letters instructions are given for the preparation of the registers, e.g. P. Lond. 1339, 5-9 (the pagarch is to bring to headquarters *κατάγραφον κατά χωρίον τοῦ ὄντος ἀνδρισμοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ εἴ τι ἐστὶ δι' αὐτῶν διάγραφον* (poll-tax), καὶ εἴ τι ὑπάρχει ἐκίστω ἐν γῆδίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν ἀμπέλῳ καὶ ἐν σπορίμῳ γῆς καὶ εἴ τι ἐχόρηγγεν δι' ἐνταγίων καὶ ἄνευ ἐνταγίων καὶ κατάγραφον τῆς ὀνομασίας καὶ πατρονομίας τῶν ὄντων φυγῶδων ἐν αὐτῷ; see too Mr. Crum's translation of the Coptic document on p. xlviii of the London volume. The word *πάκτον*, which means the rent paid on leases of State land, occurs in P. Lond. 1436. 38, 1586. 3, 6. In neither case is the sense quite certain, but in the second at least and perhaps in the first it very likely has the same meaning as in the Ashburner treatise. The word *κατόνομα*, for which Dolger refers (p. 154) to the *κατάνδρα* of papyri, finds a further parallel in the *κατὰ χωρίον* (or *καταχώριον*?) of the London papyri (see *Journ. Eg. Arch.* xii. 280). The use of *κουφίζω* in the treatise can be illustrated from the papyri, as also the arrangement by which a tax-quota written off the taxing-lists for a particular holding owing to flight of the holder, 'act of God,' or failure of the crop was added to the quotas of the remaining holders; cf. P. Lond. 1419, 827 (the abbreviations are tacitly extended), *ἐνενεχθέντα ἀπὸ πλ. εἰσὺς τοῦ χωρίου Ἀφροδιτῶ ὑπὲρ κουφισθέντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀνόματος*. So too the accounts with the arrangement *ἀπὸ νομισμάτων x νομίσματα y* (Dolger, p. 150) are paralleled by (e.g.) P. Lond. 1416 recto. The term *κεφαλῆτιον* for poll-tax may perhaps be recognised in the *κεφαλ* of the London texts, for which I suggested *κεφαλίσμας* and Wilcken simply *κεφαλῆ*. The use of *δημόσιον* (*δημόσιον*) as 'land-tax' (p. 54³) is found also in the London texts. The *συνήθεια* and *ἐλαττωτόν* (p. 60) probably correspond with the *δραπάνη* of Arab Egypt; and lastly *σκαλλή* was used there also to denote the central treasury.

It will be seen that there are close similarities between the practice of early Arab (which really means Byzantine) Egypt and that of the Byzantine Empire in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and it is much to be hoped that students of the latter will devote more attention than Byzantinists in general have hitherto done to such texts as those in the London volume.

H. I. B.

Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum. By H. J. M. MILNE. Pp. xvi + 243, with 12 plates. London: published by the Trustees of the British Museum, 1927.

THIS Catalogue, which is edited with the greatest care, will be welcomed by Greek scholars for several reasons. In the first place it contains the list of the Papyri contained in the British Museum, a work important enough in itself; next, it gives a bibliography of work which has been done on them since their first publication: for instance, on the celebrated Papyri like the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία*, the Bacchylides, and the *Logia Jesu*, and, to mention a few more, Ephorus, Herodas, and Sophocles' *Ichneutae*. In the third place, what is particularly welcome, many texts are now published for the first time. The range is wide, for besides the fragments of classical writers there are included Christian documents, Biblical, Apocryphal, Homiletical, Devotional, and Liturgical, and Mr. Milne has executed the difficult task of handling this varied mass of material, texts often hard both to decipher and to elucidate, with great skill and learning.

Some of the most noticeable of the new fragments are Nos. 54 and 55 in trochaic tetrameters, which are probably to be attributed to Archilochus (of whose poems new fragments have been published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. vi, and the Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, and are now to be found in Diehl's *Anthologia Lyrica*), and No. 53, iambic lines containing a strange 'political address cast in the form of a dream' obtained by incubation, which Crönert identifies as being the work of Semonides of Amorgos. These fragments of Archilochus are to be added to the large and growing collection of our earliest Papyri, that is, those of the third century B.C. For the first time a fragment of Parthenus

appears; and there are also fragments of new Epyllia, Dramas, and Mimes, in some of which, even after the work of Mr. Milne, scholars may still find material to study and problems to be solved. It ought to be possible, for instance, to find the key to the story of Galatea and Apollo (for so it seems to be) in No. 38, and to the fragment, apparently by Semonides, mentioned above. In the Dramatic Lyric (No. 52), which is written with a mixture of anapaests, Ionic dimeters, and *μεισσοί* hexameters, and which has parallels from Oxyrhynchus and in the 'Fragmentum Grenfellianum,' the distribution of the parts has not been made out for certain, and work on the lyrical lament of the sun for Phaethon, largely in anapaests (No. 51), should yield further interesting results. Attention should also be directed to No. 183, which contains fragments perhaps of Phrynichus, or, as Mr. Milne suggests, 'some earlier writer on Attic usage from whom Phrynichus has borrowed wholesale.' But the whole volume is full of matter.

J. C. P.

La Poetica di Aristotele. By A. ROSTAGNI. Pp. xcvi + 147. Turin: G. Chiantore, 1927.

ITALY, the editor declares, in an age much interested in aesthetic, has lacked a proper edition of the *Poetics*. This is an attempt to supply the need. Though not a full critical edition, the editor has produced a text based, he claims, on a truer evaluation of the MSS. than the current texts of Vahlen and Christ and Bywater. Awkwardly, the *apparatus criticus* is printed at the end and not concurrently with the text. There is a running commentary, simply explanatory of the subject-matter. The elaborate introduction brings out well the necessity of bearing in mind Plato's theories of Art in any attempt to analyse Aristotle's argument in the *Poetics*. It also deals with the history of the treatise: its origin, its philosophic significance, its relation to Alexandrine scholarship, its subsequent fortunes and the transmission of the text.

Esquisses grecques. By GÉRASSIMOS VOCOS. Pp. 152, with 1 plate. Paris: Maisonneuve Frères, 1927.

SEVEN essays are here collected, each discussing in a general way some aspect of Greek thought 'de natura deorum.' But the thesis which unites them is clearly outlined in the first, 'Phidias et Socrate.' M. Vocos believes that in the achievements of the Periclean age we see the highest results of the Hellenic genius in the natural course of its growth; but Socrates (whom he takes without hesitation at Plato's valuation) is to him 'le plus formidable révolutionnaire qui a existé au monde,' and he sees in the failure of Socrates to convert the world to his gospel of 'Justice' the greatest disappointment of promise in the history of civilisation.

Christ the Word. By P. E. MORE. Pp. vii + 343. Princeton: University Press, and London: Humphrey Milford, 1927. 18s.

THIS volume ends the historical survey of the 'Greek tradition.' The subapostolic Church, the rivalry of Christianity and the Gnostic sects, and the struggle of orthodoxy with the great heresies down to the Council of Chalcedon in the fifth century—through this long history the author traces in an elaborate essay the continuance of Platonic thought, its modification by the teaching of Christ, its fusion with Jewish and Oriental elements and its ultimate pre-eminence in the theology of orthodox Christianity. He writes as a convinced Christian Platonist, and naturally his history is not impartial: about Marcion he is unnecessarily bitter. He sees in Plato the Greek who attained nearest to the Truth, and overlooks how un-Hellenic was the trend of Plato's philosophy—contrary at least to those tendencies of Hellenic thought which dominated the classic view of life. However, the theological literature of these centuries is carefully analysed; a useful 'summary chronology' of the principal Greek authors of the period is given in an Appendix.

Platone: La Repubblica. By U. E. PAOLI. Pp. lx + 125. Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1927.

TWENTY-THREE passages of varying length, printed in their proper sequence from Burnet's text (Oxford, 1905) of the *Republic*, selected for the use of schools. The very few variations of reading are listed at the end. Each passage has a descriptive heading, and there is a running commentary on the matter, printed at the foot of the text. There is a short introduction dealing with the relation of the *Republic* to the rest of the Platonic canon. The chief topics are well exemplified in this selection, but the best part of the book is the full and clear summary of the whole dialogue.

The Early Church and Social Life. By N. H. BAYNES. Pp. 16. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1927. 1s.

THIS 'selected bibliography,' written by Mr. Baynes at the suggestion of the Social Function of 'Copec' and published for the Historical Association, is rather an admirably condensed handbook for the elementary study of its subject. The various sections into which it is divided (the Background of the Scriptures, the Church and the Empire, etc.) have each a very clear explanatory paragraph as well as notes on the more important books. The selection of authorities is satisfactorily impartial. Most of the books are English, for the pamphlet is intended for the general reader: it is an unfortunately deserved reproach that the author has so often to say 'there is no satisfactory work on this subject in English.'

A Short History of Civilisation. By LYNN THORNDYKE. Pp. xiv + 619, with 6 maps and 96 illustrations. London: John Murray, 1927. £1 1s.

AN attempt to compress into one volume a history of the social life and of the intellectual and artistic achievements of every age and country to form a background for the study of modern Western civilisation. It is a very readable summary, being neither a mere collection of facts nor a tendential essay; historical proportion is carefully respected, thus making a convenient handbook which admirably achieves its purpose, though no individual chapter is of value in itself. Greek civilisation occupies about fifty pages. Each chapter is provided with a bibliography, chiefly of books in English: there are at the end a short general bibliography and a chronological list of 'steps in the development of civilisation.' The illustrations are numerous but disappointing—only the photographs of Roman and medieval buildings are at all satisfactory.

Neue Wege durch die griechische Sprache und Dichtung. By GEORGE H. MAHLow. Pp. 525. Berlin: W. DE GRUYTER, 1927.

WHEN learning the declension of nouns in Greek beginners are soon introduced to the 'rule' that in the first declension after ε, ι, ρ we find $\bar{\alpha}$, e.g. *σεία*, but elsewhere τ , e.g. *τιμή*. They are told that ε, ι, ρ changed τ , which had come from an original $\bar{\alpha}$, back into $\bar{\alpha}$ in Attic, and this linguistic change is dignified with the title 'phonetic law,' although the exceptions to it are to be found on every hand, e.g. *χρῆς*, *ἥρσι*, *ἐχέουσα*, *ἐλέησον*, *ὑγίης*. To save the rule some of the exceptions are explained by means of *F*, e.g. *νόρτ*, *δέστ* < **νόρFτ*, *δέστFτ*, in spite of the fact that we have *νάα*, *θία*, *ἐλπία*, *πόα*, *λαία*, all originally containing *F*; others again by the omission of an σ, e.g. *νόρτ*, *Τυρρηνός*, from which it is argued that the assimilation of σ to ρ was more recent than the change of $\bar{\alpha}$ to τ , and finally such examples as *ζρήντ*, *Πρήντ*, *Κυρήντ*, where the grammarians tell us that the final τ prevented the medial τ being changed to $\bar{\alpha}$ after ρ, although they had merely to look around them to find plenty of examples refuting this, such as *πειρατής*, *θρηξτ*, *θεατής*, *Σπαρτιάτης* and so

on. It is only too clear that words which do not conform to this so-called law are by the grammars passed over in silence. What then is the relation in Greek between $\bar{\alpha}$ and η ?

In this book this problem is fully and admirably discussed by Mahlow, whose study of the vowels A, E, O has long been well known to philologists. Starting his inquiry with the so-called $\bar{\alpha}$ purum of Attic, he comes to the conclusion that the theory of a phonetic law regulating the interchange of $\bar{\alpha}$ - η in Attic-Ionic is entirely unfounded, and that Attic-Ionic $\bar{\alpha}$ is exactly the same $\bar{\alpha}$ as the $\bar{\alpha}$ of Doric and Aeolic, for they are all directly descended from the original unaltered $\bar{\alpha}$ of pre-ethnic Greek. In order to reach this result, which he has clearly established, he ranges not only over all Greek literature, but the corpus of dialect inscriptions as well, and the finds he has made on his progress and the new light he has brought to bear on obscurities of text and interpretation are no less valuable and important than the establishing of his main thesis. He has also some very scathing but much-needed remarks on the credulous and unscientific linguistic method which has long been unfortunately all too common. He treats the ancient languages as real living, spoken tongues and seeks illustrative parallels from the dialects of modern Europe, a point of view which has greatly contributed to the successful outcome of his inquiry.

Was this change of $\bar{\alpha}$ to η an organic one or was it a change due to invasion and the mixing of peoples? Why did it confine itself to Attic? Whence comes it that so many words in Greek are not Indo-European? The common root meaning 'king,' which appears in Sanskrit *rajan*, Lat. *regem*, has been replaced by βασιλεύς; there is a new word for 'hero,' ἥρως, with an analogical form δμῶς from the I.-E. root **dom-* of decidedly non-Greek appearance (cf. Τρώς, Μινῶς); the I.-E. word for 'deity,' δαίμων, is ousted by a new form θεός which has the same form for both masculine and feminine, e.g. ἡ θεός, a phenomenon which is doubtless due to foreign influence (cf. the absence of the feminine in Hittite). All this leads the author into a discussion of the original peoples of Greece, the Pelasgians, Dryopes, Leleges, etc., and the linguistic relics of such as the βίρβασοι δίγλωσσοι whom Thucydides mentions in connexion with Chalcidice.

Mahlow then makes a most instructive study of the language of the chief poets of Greece, and shows us, for instance, that Tyrtaeus was not an Ionian imported into Sparta, as we are frequently told—truly an amazing statement—but a real native Spartan of Ionic extraction, and hence writing in Ionic. So also we used to be told that Theognis was a Dorian writing in Middle Ionic, but Mahlow shows he was an Ionian. Thus he completely overthrows the old idea that an elegiac poet was compelled by the literary convention to compose his work in Ionic no matter what his own nationality and dialect might be. Again, it is a common belief that the choruses in Attic tragedy are written in Doric, although we find nowhere in any tragic chorus acc. plur. such as λύκας, νόμφας, nowhere τίν, τῶ, no infinitives in -εν, no third plurals like ἐντί, λέγοντι, nowhere φᾶτι, τιθῆτι, no first plurals in -μες. Tragic choruses contain nothing characteristically Doric save $\bar{\alpha}$, and that, as Mahlow shows, is really common Greek. Tragic choruses are composed not in the Doric dialect but δωριστί, that is, with the Doric mode in music in its relation to the choral dance. He also makes a full examination of the dialect of Homer, showing that what are usually called Aeolisms and used to support the theory of the Aeolic origin of the Homeric poems are not specifically Aeolic at all, but are common Greek.

On the purely linguistic side the book contains much interesting and often valuable information. The author emphasises the growth of parallelisms in language, discussing forms such as πολίτης: πολίτης, ῥέζω: ἔρδω, πόλις: πτόλις, ἀγρέω: χίρῶ, the lengthening of vowels in word-composition, and the varying development of forms, e.g. from the noun ἱππῶς we get ἱππεῖς, ἱππῆς, ἱππέως, ἱππέα, ἱππέος, ἱππέα and so on. He lays great but well-deserved stress on the fact that sound-changes take centuries, sometimes thousands of years, to develop, and that never at any time was there one single uniform Attic dialect descended straight from Indo-European. Thus ξένος is not specially Attic and ξείνος Ionic, but each has merely come to belong to the written form of the dialect, while there seems little doubt that in spoken Attic ξένος, ξένος, and ξείνος were all to be found at the same time in different strata of the people. No βασίλεια, βασίλισσα, βασίλειον are all good Attic, and forms in -σς- are equally good with forms in -ττ-. Again, πατέρων was just as good spoken Attic as πατέρες, the former being ante-vocalic, while the latter appeared before consonants. He fully discusses the various forms of the genitive termina-

tion of masculine $\bar{\alpha}$ -stems, viz. - $\bar{\alpha}$ o, - $\bar{\alpha}$, - α o, - ω , - ϵ o, - ϵ o, - α o, - η , the Homeric - α o beside - α o, and old genitive forms such as $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta$, which shows the same relation to $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\alpha$ as Thessalian $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota$ to Homeric $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\mu\alpha\iota\alpha$.

Mahlow has also many interesting ventures in etymology. Thus $\Pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\alpha$ is separated from $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\epsilon\alpha$ (fiery red) and connected with the root seen in Sanskrit *puruṣa* (man), and is a relic of an old legend dealing with the origin of mankind. $\text{Κυπρ}ο\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ is dissociated from the popular story connecting it with Cyprus, and together with Κύπρις and Κυθήρεια is connected with $\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$ and its by-form $\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\omega$, and the association of the goddess with $\tau\acute{o}\ \kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\alpha\varsigma$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\varsigma$ is ingeniously identified with Latin *potus*, while $\Pi\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is related to $\Pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, showing $\lambda\lambda$ as $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ compared with Latin *alius*. Again, $\acute{\gamma}\mu\phi\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\eta$ is not compounded from $\alpha + \phi\alpha\chi\alpha\iota$, but shows the same root as $\acute{\gamma}\mu\phi\acute{\eta}$, while $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\alpha$ is merely an old accusative of the same root as we find in $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$, and means 'homewards.' $\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\lambda\eta$, $\text{Ἀσκλη-πιδ}\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ are from $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\gamma\lambda\alpha$, $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi\iota\alpha\varsigma$, just as Cretan $\pi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$ < $\tau\rho\epsilon\nu\sigma\gamma\upsilon\varsigma$; cf. Lat. *perendic*, Goth. *fuirnein*, Lith. *pernai*. $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\varsigma$ is not from the root *tri-* plus the suffix *-to-*, but is merely a transformation of earlier $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\alpha\varsigma$ (still retained in Aeolic) < $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\sigma}\tau\alpha\varsigma$. While these are highly plausible, other etymological ventures seem less happy. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\alpha$ we know is Sanskrit *dāṇḍa*, Teut. *timr*, Eng. *timber*, but it is difficult to believe with Mahlow that the same root is seen in Lat. *membrum* < $\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\sigma\kappa\lambda\eta\pi\iota\alpha\varsigma$ on the strength of *membrum dormitorium* in Cicero, nor is it very easy to find Lat. *lingula* in $\gamma\lambda\acute{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha$.

It is very difficult in short space to do justice to a work of this kind, for not only is it a mine of recondite erudition, but it deals with a very small corner of the field of Greek phonology with a tremendous wealth of detail and very close reasoning. But Mahlow is a thorough master of his subject and he has it always in perfect control. He has produced a work which will be most valuable and useful to scholars both for what he has actually proved and for the suggestions he has advanced, a work fully in keeping with the great traditions of German scholarship.

P. S. N.

Die indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft. By PAUL KRETSCHMER. Pp. 61. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1925. 2 M.

THIS little book was prepared by Dr. Kretschmer under the auspices of the Albanian Minister of Education for use in Albanian schools. It is divided into three sections. The first gives a brief survey of the various branches of the Indo-European family of languages, the materials for linguistic study afforded by them, and their relation to each other. The second deals with the history and method of Indo-European linguistic, the contributions made by the leading linguists from August Pott onwards, and a brief but penetrating examination of the chief tendency of the four main periods into which the development of this branch of learning may be divided. Considerations of space make it necessary, of course, that much should be omitted, but one would have liked nevertheless to see a few words about Sir William Jones at least. The third section, which is very brief, for it covers only eleven pages, treats of the pre-history of the Indo-Europeans and the question of the 'Urheimat.' Perhaps it is only to be expected that a German scholar should favour northern Germany as the original habitat of the Indo-European tongues, but as least as much could be said in favour of the claim of the plains of Hungary. From a scholar of Dr. Kretschmer's vast learning and ripe experience we have a right to demand good work and our claim is honoured, for this little book is within its limits most excellent. It says a great deal for Albanian education that it makes this knowledge accessible to all by encouraging such manuals as this, and I wish the same could be said of England.

Chalkidische Vasen. By A. RUMPF. Three volumes; text, pp. xii + 200; plates, 1-100, 101-222. Leipzig and Berlin: de Gruyter & Co., 1927. 100 M.

THE appearance of Professor Rumpf's work on Chalcidian vases is an event of more than usual interest and importance. A treatise on the subject was planned by Loeschke over

forty years ago, but for some reason it never took material form. The present author took over the project in 1921, and has brought his task to a conclusion with commendable rapidity. And that is not all; he has produced one of the most convincing studies in Greek vase-painting which has appeared for many years.

The work is planned on a magnificent scale; it is safe to say that no other equivalent group of vases has ever been so finely published; the book sets a new standard, and one to which very few will be able to attain.

The text is written in a style which is unusually concise, lucid and direct. It is no disparagement to say that we are grateful for its brevity: Professor Rumpf's command not only of the Chalcidian, but also of all the related material, enables him to select and dispose of the essential points in a short space, a virtue which will obviously become more and more necessary in archaeological writing as time goes on.

So great a number of plates would not have been required to illustrate the Chalcidian vases known to science a few years ago. Professor Rumpf's own researches have revealed a great quantity of new material; at the same time they have defined the limits of the Chalcidian series with much-needed precision. The author has succeeded to a great extent in distinguishing the individualities of the artists who painted the Chalcidian vases. Further discoveries will no doubt show that some of his smaller groups represent different phases of the same man's work: that is only natural. Meanwhile two at least of his artists are personalities of real importance; these are, of course, the painter of the inscribed vases, to whom the masterpiece of the early Chalcidian series, the Castellani psykter, is attributed, and, at the other end of the story, the painter of the Phineus cup. They are artists who, working from an entirely different point of view, approach the plane of the great Attic painters of the same period, Exekias and Oltos.

Professor Rumpf maintains provisionally the conservative view that the 'Chalcidian' vases were made in Euboea, though he recognises the fact that, all the known provenances being Italian or Sicilian, there is some point in the suggestion that the vases were made in a Western colony. It is a pity that the sherd from Skyros, which may be Chalcidian, cannot be traced (p. 43). The question of origin has been tentatively reopened by Smith in a recent note on a Chalcidian vase in Pennsylvania (*A.J.A.*, 1928, 63); Smith mentions a terra-cotta ornament, perhaps found in Italy, and suggests that such an object would be of local manufacture; precisely why this must be so is not at present clear.

A very important section of the book proves clearly that the roots of the Chalcidian style lie not in Ionian art, as has been frequently asserted, but in the black-figure styles of Attica and Corinth. Tangible evidence of Eastern Greek connexions are reduced to a few insignificant details. And yet in spite of this one wonders whether Professor Rumpf does not rather overstate the case: whether the tangible evidence is all that we have to go upon. There is surely a certain temperamental affinity at least between some Chalcidian vases and some Eastern Greek work which must be taken into account. The full, rounded forms of the Chalcidian rose-bud chains have a nearer analogy, to my mind, in the lotus and bud friezes of the Northampton vases and of some Ionian dinoi (Sieveking-Hackl, Pl. XXI, No. 585, Pfuhl, *Mon. u. Zersch.*, Fig. 150) than in any mainland Greek work: and after all the flowing contours, which are a pronounced feature of much Chalcidian drawing (cf. for example Herakles on the Geryon amphora) are, despite outward differences, one of the characteristic marks of the Caeretan style, even of some Fikellura vases (for example, the running huntsman, Schaal, *Bilderhefte*, Pl. VII, 13) and of much Ionian plastic work. Then what of the unmistakable resemblance between the style of the Phineus group and Ionian coins such as *B.M.C. Ionia*, Pl. IV, 1 and 4? But it is certainly of the first importance that the other, and less generally appreciated, aspect of the style should be emphasised.

The text concludes with a chapter on three groups of vases which are more or less closely related to the Chalcidian. The first of these groups certainly contains vases of very different kinds; some of them are ordinary Boeotian, and have neither shape nor style in common with Chalcidian (Nos. i-m): one at least is Attic (No. f); if No. n is the same as Copenhagen, *C.I.A.*, Fasc. II, Pl. XC, 3, it is Corinthian.

It may perhaps be worth while to mention one or two Chalcidian pieces which are not included (through no fault of the author's, as will be seen): neck amphora, recently acquired by the Ashmolean Museum: birds and floral ornaments. Neck amphora, in the possession

of the Royal Society of Literature, London (*Trans. R.S.L.*, IV, 1853, pp. 261 and 289 ff.: kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Walters): on one side horsemen (one horse white; cf. Rumpf, p. 176, Fig. 4). Oinochoe, Boulogne, 370 (*Le Musée*, II, 269, Fig. 8); much restored and not recognisable from the illustration, but certainly of the Phineus group. I got the impression from a very rapid glance that there were Chalcidian fragments in the Frochner Collection which has passed to the Cabinet des Médailles. The Pennsylvania vase and ornament have already been mentioned.

H. G. G. P.

L'Aristocratie Athénienne. By G. MÉAUTIS. Pp. 46. Paris: Association Guillaume Budé, 1927.

THIS is another fascinating essay by the author of *Aspects Ignorés de la Religion Grecque*. M. Méautis knows where an essay should stop, and wisely does not allow himself to attempt to give much information about the noble families of Athens or their exploits. He deals with the aristocratic spirit in Athens, whose manifestations are often obscured by the far better known democratic spirit. It has frequently happened in European history that our knowledge of certain events and countries has come mainly from the aristocratic side. In Athenian history the position is reversed, and except for Homeric times our authorities mainly ignore or attack the aristocracy. Hesiod, though hostile, is a valuable witness, and in passing the author urges that the *Works and Days* has an educational value and should be much more widely read. The spirit was not killed by the reforms of Cleisthenes, who was no democrat, but the number of aristocrats was enlarged. The anti-war feeling in the Periclean age and during the Peloponnesian war was fostered in the clubs and may be seen in Aristophanes. But after the aristocratic successes in the years preceding the end of the war they showed themselves totally unfit to govern. There was now no true aristocracy, and after 403 it only remained as a memory which some people, notably Lycurgus, whose character is deftly sketched, strove hard to revive. Exception might be taken to several things, for example, the author's way of handling the Eleusinian Mysteries, but to do so would be sheer ingratitude.

Aristotle: Selections. Edited by W. D. ROSS. Pp. xxxii + 348. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1927. 4s. 6d.

THERE will be many who will be grateful for this book. The average classical student reads but little of Aristotle, especially if he comes from Cambridge. Now he will have less excuse for not penetrating farther than hitherto beyond the *Ethics*, *Politics* and *Poetics*. Here he will find (1) a hundred and three ably translated selections from Aristotle's various works (excluding the *Ἀθρυγίων Πόλιτεῖς*), comprising some 340 pages in all; (2) a short introduction on the development of Aristotle's thought and some modern views; (3) a table of contents with references and titles for each selection (the book would be improved if the titles appeared at the head of each selection), and (4) a short glossary of *Greek* words which seems to have strayed in from some other book. For there are no Greek words in Greek type in the selections, and only two, *φρονησις* and *σοφία* (*sic*), in the Introduction.

Aristoteles: Ἀθρυγίων Πόλιτεῖς. Edited by H. OPPERMANN. Pp. xvi + 128. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928.

ANOTHER Teubner text of the *Ἀθ. Πολ.* on the basis of Blass and Thalheim. The *Præfatio* gives a description of the Berlin fragment and the British Museum papyrus, and photographic illustrations of the latter are added at the end. There is a large bibliography. The footnotes to the text are of three kinds—(1) at the foot of the page, critical, (2) testimonia and parallel passages, (3) references to modern works and periodicals.

The Phaedo of Plato. Translated by the HON. PATRICK DUNCAN. Pp. 175. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1928. 6s.

IN his brief preface the translator apologises for adding another to the existing translations of the *Phaedo*. The last word has not been said on any of the dialogues and no translation is final; at the same time one is inclined to share the translator's modest diffidence about the value of adding one more to the list. For it is hard to see what is the precise purpose which this book is intended to serve. This does not mean that it is a bad translation on the whole, viewed as an aid to a schoolboy construing the Greek, but it would have been better for the majority of readers if the translation had been less literal and had aimed at writing clearer English prose. One or twice the reviewer was driven to consult the Greek text to find out what the English meant.

The Oxford University Press has chosen an excellent type, but has allowed so little of the area of each page to be covered that the words are often too close together, and sometimes not separated at all; e.g. on page 9, *forsomeother*, on p. 77, *go ontoexplain*. There are two well-written appendices which should be useful to the general reader unacquainted with the work of Burnet and Taylor.

Die Heimkehr des Odysseus. By U. VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORF. Pp. vi + 205. Berlin: Weidmann, 1927.

THIS book had its origin in a series of discussions between the distinguished author and some of his students. This may account for the fact that no conclusion is reached about where the so-called 'Telemachy' begins. The position taken up on p. 4 is abandoned on p. 99. But apparently this Telemachy and 'The Wanderings' and other poems lay before the 'Bearbeiter' (there was no author) of the *Odyssey*. He had also $\nu\zeta$ before him, but he had to write $\pi\epsilon$ himself and did not do it very well. He was much better at filling in the gaps left by the various authors of $\sigma\tau$ and $\phi\chi\psi$ and ω , from whose works he chose the most suitable portions.

This method of study is all too well-known, and the author will not allow that there can be any other. He strongly advises those scholars who approach Homer in a different manner not to read this book, as he refuses to read theirs. Those of them who neglect this advice will be struck afresh by his profound knowledge of the world's most famous poems, and grieve that such knowledge should not have availed to produce wider tolerance and greater sanity.

Alexander's Campaigns on the Indian N.W. Frontier. By SIR AUREL STEIN. Pp. 24 and 26; one map, ten illustrations. *Geographical Journal*, Nov., Dec. 1927.

THESE two articles result from the explorations made by the author in the area between the Upper Swāt and the Indus. The first article is devoted to topography and description, while in the second an account is given of the explorations in the Bunār neighbourhood and of the reasons which led the author to conclude that Arrian's $\Lambda\omicron\pi\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is to be identified with the precipitous ridge Pīr-sar, and not with Mt. Mahābān lower down the Indus. If the form of the name which $\Lambda\omicron\pi\nu\omicron\varsigma$ was intended to reproduce was something like *Avarna*, then some such name may be the ancestor of the modern $\bar{U}nā$ or $\bar{U}nā$, a peak which overlooks Pīr-sar. But the main arguments are strategical and geographical, and Pīr-sar is shown to agree well with Arrian's description. There are some fine photographs and a map.

Contributions to a Bibliography of Epictetus. By W. A. OLDFATHER. Pp. xvii + 201, with facsimiles. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1927. \$3.50.

THIS painstaking work gives nearly twelve hundred works or articles dealing with Epictetus:—texts, translations (into a great variety of languages), editions of the *Enchiridion* separately, selections and some fifty pages of references under the heading 'Criticism.' Appended is a facsimile reproduction of Jacob Schenk's translation of the *Enchiridion* (Basel, 1534).

The Harmsworth Universal History. Edited by J. A. HAMMERTON. In fortnightly parts, each averaging 120 pp., with many illustrations. London: Amalgamated Press, Ltd., 1927. 1s. 3d. per part.

A CONCERTED production of numerous authors, this history consists of a series of 'chronicles,' about twenty pages long, by the editors, each expanded in half a dozen chapters by acknowledged authorities dealing with various aspects of the civilisation of the period. The first two volumes have already been completed.

Volume I opens with two general essays—G. M. Trevelyan on the Use of History and Flinders Petrie on the Aims of Archaeology—which form an admirable introduction. These are followed by a series of essays on general historical questions—the position of women, the concept of empire, the economic background, etc. The first chronicle deals with the origin of life and of man (Sir Arthur Keith writes on 'The Evolution of Man'). The second chronicle deals with the early Mesopotamian civilisations, and the volume closes with the decline of the Egyptian Empire. These chapters are quite up to date. Mr. Woolley writes on the civilisation of Ur; Professors J. L. Myres and T. E. Peet are among the other contributors.

Volume II opens with the Hittite Empire and covers the history of the Near East and the Mediterranean down to the beginning of the fourth century. There is also a chapter on the sixth-century religious movements in the Far East. Among the contributors are J. L. Myres, A. J. B. Wace, E. A. and P. Gardner, Gordon Childe, H. R. Hall and W. R. Halliday.

The whole work is copiously illustrated with photographs, diagrams and maps both through the text and in separate plates. There are also numerous fine coloured plates. The notes under the illustrations are more popular in style than the text which they supplement.

W. R. L.

Isocrates: De Pace and Philippus. Edited by M. L. W. LAISTNER. Pp. 173. New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1927.

PROFESSOR LAISTNER is a very warm admirer of Isocrates, and he has edited these two important 'pamphlets' in the hope of helping to prove 'that Isocrates . . . had a very real grasp of the political situation in Greece' in the fourth century; for hitherto there has been no English commentary on the *De Pace* or the *Philippus*.

The text presented is that of Blass, emended in a very few instances by the B.M. Papyrus 132. The Commentary, which is not elaborate, is concerned chiefly with the historical content of the discourses; though ample guidance is also given in the matter of rare or specialised usages. The introduction is historical, and gives an admirably clear account of Isocrates' life, of his writings and of the nature of his influence. Professor Laistner believes in the authenticity of most of the Isocratean canon, but is sceptical about many of the traditions of his life. Thus he accepts the last letter to Philip and the consequent later dating of Isocrates' death.

Nemesios von Emesa: Anthropologie. By EMIL ORTH. Pp. viii + 120. Buchdruckerei und Verlag Maria-Martenthal, Bez. Coblenz, 1925.

A TRANSLATION into German of Nemesios περί φύσεως ἀνθρώπου, with translations of two medieval prefaces to Latin translations of it—by Nicolaus Alfani in the eleventh and by Richard Burgundio in the twelfth century. There is a short historical introduction on Nemesios and on Emesa.

Philonis Byzantii Index. By M. ARNIM. Pp. vii + 90. Leipzig: Teubner, 1927. M. 6.60.

AN index of all the words used in the surviving fourth and fifth books of the *Mechanica Syntaxis*, compiled as a supplement to the author's *De Philonis Byzantii dicendi genere* (1912), and as a guide to the language of the period, for the use of 'archaeologists, scholars and lexicographers'—Philo being, in the words of the compiler, 'linguae Graecae cultioris, qualis sub finem tertii a. Chr. n. saeculi fuit, testis in tanta librorum Hellenisticae aetatis iactura haudquaquam spernendus.' The references are to the edition of R. Schoene (Berlin, 1893).

Plutarch: Moralische Schriften. III. Politische Schriften. Edited and translated by O. APALT. Pp. xii + 204. Leipzig: Meiner, 1927. M. 6.

THIS third volume of Dr. Apelt's translation of the *Moralia* contains the six political treatises. There is a brief introduction and a summary of each treatise. The notes give the references of the numerous quotations and explain the translation wherever an unusual reading of the text has been followed.

Logios. By EMIL ORTH. Pp. iv. + 108. Leipzig: Noske, 1926.

A HISTORY of the word λόγιος, illustrated by a full collection of its occurrences from the earliest to the latest Greek authors. The quotations are arranged by classes of writers—philosophers, historians, medical writers, etc.—with additional chapters on Inscriptional and Papyrus usages, and a collection of ancient definitions of the word. 'Ερμῆς λόγιος and θεὸς λόγιος are also considered, and there is an appendix on the word λογιστήρ.

Von Land und Leuten in Ost-Turkistan. By A. VON LE COQ. Pp. vii + 183. with 48 plates, 36 text-illustrations and five maps. Leipzig: Heinrichs, 1928. M. 12.

AN account of the fourth German 'Turfan' expedition, which—though failing to reach Turfan—explored various sites in East Turkestan between March 1913 and March 1914. The author, Professor von Le Coq, was the leader of the expedition. The volume is fully illustrated by photographs and line drawings of places, people and objects, including painting, sculpture and the minor arts: in all of which this meeting-place of so many cultures—Persian, Indian, Chinese, etc.—is rich.

Der Sport im Altertum. By BRUNO SCHRODER. Pp. 196, with 110 plates and 45 figs. Berlin: Schoetz and Co., 1927.

THE aim of this book is 'to show the close connexion of *Gymnastik* with the whole classical culture.' After a preliminary chapter on Egypt and Crete the author discusses the relations of *Gymnastik* with religion, with the State, with education and art, describes the various forms of sport and ends with a comparison between ancient *Gymnastik* and modern sport.

The book is evidently the outcome of the modern athletic development in Germany. The writer regards athletics from the point of view of physical culture and treats it too much as a science. He does not understand the athletic spirit of the unorganised sports of Homer, otherwise he could not describe the games of Patroclus as 'eine bauerliche Kurzweil' or 'eine Zirkusvorführung zur Belustigung der Zuschauer' (p. 15). It is a strange description if this passage is, as he says, a late addition, clumsily interpolated, at a time, we must suppose, when Greek athletics were already fully developed.

The illustrations are excellent. Unfortunately the text does not do them justice. It contains many inaccuracies. It is, of course, a slip when the author ascribes the description of the chariot-race at Delphi in the *Electra* of Euripides instead of Sophocles (p. 134). But there can be no justification for the statement that the Stadium was usually 500 feet long (p. 103), even if we accept Curtius' quite unsupported conjecture that the Stadium of Olympia was originally 500 feet. It is conclusively disproved by the measurements of existing Stadia. Moreover, why was the *dromos* called a Stadium unless it was a stade in length? Again, the Panathenaic amphorae clearly show that it is not true to say that the long-distance runners 'die Arme wie in Ausfallstellung beim Faustkampf hoch hielten' (p. 106). In discussing the use of *halteres* he informs us that a running jump with weights is 'unglaublich' (p. 111). Yet it is a fact that the Greeks used weights for a running long jump, and in modern times professionals have used them both for a running long jump and for a running high jump.

In his interpretation of vases Schröder shows little practical knowledge of athletics. Fig. 21 described as a 'starter' clearly represents a standing jump. Fig. 23 certainly does not prove that the Greek runner started off his hands. If it really does represent the start of a *hoplitodromos* it is one of those humorous varieties of that event of which we have evidence elsewhere, and finds its modern analogy in the position of starters in a sack-race. In describing the jumper on the Leyden Panathenaic vase (Fig. 26) as in the act of landing (p. 112), Schröder entirely ignores the context of the vase as well as athletic practice. A long jumper does not land on one foot. Similar mistakes vitiate his treatment of throwing the disks.

One would like to be able to accept Schröder's discovery of a representation of hurdlers in two sketches of the lost side of a well-known sarcophagus in the Louvre (Figs. 24, 25, p. 107). But, apart from the sketchiness of the drawing, the object which Schröder interprets as a hurdle or obstacle is clearly nothing but the familiar prize-table with a palm laid across it, and the two Erotes are placed on a higher level merely because they are behind it, on a different plane. Fig. 25 is quite unintelligible.

E. N. G.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Pays-Bas 1 = Musée Scheurleer (La Haye) 1. By C. W. LUNSSINGH SCHEURLEER. Paris: Champion, 1927.

THE contents of the first Dutch part of the Corpus are varied and interesting—they include, for instance, a panathenaic amphora, a Caeretan hydria, a curious Attic cup with an unexplained picture of a choros. The photographs are nearly all good, the classification sound, the descriptions accurate.

III. C, Pl. 4, 4, not Corinthian but Attico-Boeotian. III. E, Pl. 1, 1–2, Attic. III. F, Pl. 1, 3–4, the Caeretan was in the Jekyll collection, sold in 1914. III. G, Pl. 1, 1 and 2, Attic? In the text to Pls. 2–3 the heading 'bird-cup style' is extended to cover a number of very different Boeotian styles: Pl. 2, 4, doubtless Attic ('polos style': cf. C.V. Brussels, III. H_d, Pl. 1, 3 and 4). III. H_b, Pl. 2, 9, why not proto-Corinthian? III. H_e, Pl. 1, 4–5, the Panathenaic is grouped with others in *J.H.S.* 1927, p. 87. Pl. 6, 5, from a volute-krater?

Why are the feet of the water-bird on the cover tipped up?—see II. D, Pl. 1, 4.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 6 = Collection Mouret (Fouilles d'Ensérune). By FELIX MOURET. Paris: Champion, 1927.

THIS fascicule is something novel. The cemetery of Ensérune near Béziers has yielded Attic vases, mostly fragmentary, from the fourth century and the end of the fifth; Attic and Campanian black vases of the fourth and third; pottery of Iberian type, some of it handsome; sigillata, etc. The catalogue is preceded by a general study of the pottery from Ensérune; and a preface by Mr. Pottier gives an account of the excavations and an estimate of their historical importance.

The r.f. fragments admit of closer classification. One would like to see the originals, and what is unpublished; but something can be done from the photographs. First group (early): Pl. 7, 16; Pl. 7, 17; Pl. 7, 1. Second group: Pl. 6, 2 and 16; Pl. 6, 8 and 9; Pl. 6, 4 and 11; Pl. 6, 3 and 15; Pl. 7, 13; Pl. 7, 12; Pl. 12, 12; Pl. 12, 8; Pl. 12, 10; and probably Pl. 6, 7 and 12, and Pl. 12, 15. These all seem to be by one hand: by the same, cups in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.*, ii. Pl. 71, 2), the British Museum (E 106), Heidelberg (W 19), Vienna University: allied, London E 103, Villa Giulia 17914 (Cultrera, *Mon. Linc.* 24, Pl. 9), Heidelberg W 33. Third group: Pl. 6, 6 and 10; Pl. 13, 5; Pl. 7, 9: by the same hand, another cup in the Vatican (I, a young warrior with sprig, spear and shield—the rim dotted; and a woman with oinochoe and phiale). Fourth group: Pls. 1-4; Pl. 5, 2 and 5; Pl. 6, 5 and 13; Pl. 12, 17; and probably a good many other fragments. These go with the Jena find: a mass of fragments in Jena, good and bad, earlier and later, but homogeneous, seems to be a workshop-find—the work of one man, or of one man and subordinates. One or two of the Jena fragments are published (*AZ.*, 1857, Pl. 108, 2-4): compare also cups in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii., Pl. 71, 3, and Pl. 76, 2) and in the Cabinet des Médailles (818).

One or two problems of interpretation are raised. The figures on Pl. 1 are inscribed *Kephalos* and *Prokris*; but what is the thing above the dog's tail—held in the young man's hand? Neither Mr. Mouret nor Mr. Nicole tells us: it looks like a caduceus; but if so, why?

Pl. 5, 2 is also inscribed: the youth is [P]aralos—our only representation of him. But what is 'οφζοζ or οφθοζ'? The picture is not explained in the text: the object in the youth's hand is not a skyphos but a bucket with a handle; and the pair are drinking at a well—a pithos-well of the kind known from Priene (*Priene*, p. 80): for the subject compare a column-krater in Madrid (Leroux, Pl. 29, 1) and a figure at Trysa.

The black vases raise other questions: most of them are lumped together as Campanian; but Pl. 18, 1, Pl. 19, 1 and 4, Pl. 19, 5, Pl. 23, 14, Pl. 15, 13, must be Attic. Again: the favourite shape at Ensérune is the 'cantharos with thumb-rests': this shape was certainly current in Italy; but it was also current in Attica, and may even have been invented there. I have no doubt that many of the Ensérune examples are Attic, among them the Panos vase, Pl. 14, 1. Another Attic vase is Pl. 18, 6, which is described as 'Attico-Italiote.'

The last plate, 53, gives a selection of fragments found not at Ensérune but at Béziers: some of these are earlier than anything from Ensérune. The Attic fragments Nos. 17 and 20 are called 'Greco-Italiote': not a nice word.

A novel fascicule: and an attractive one. Mr. Mouret, by his excavations, and by his publication of the results, has made a useful contribution to the history of ancient pottery, and to the history of France.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

Les Papyrus Bouriant. By PAUL COLLART. Pp. 254; 4 plates. Paris: Édouard Champion, 1926. Fr. 160.

THIS volume, in which Mr. Collart, already well known as a collaborator in the publication of the Lille papyri and as editing single papyri elsewhere, makes his first appearance as sole editor of a substantial volume of texts, is of considerable importance, and contains several documents of outstanding interest, one or two of them, it is true, previously known, but others hitherto unpublished. His editorial work deserves high praise, and his elaborate commentaries add greatly to the usefulness of the volume. The facsimiles at the end are so good as to make one wish for more. Below are noticed the more important of the contents and some points in which texts or commentary may perhaps be improved.

No. 1 is the 'cahier d'écolier' previously published by Jouguet and Perdizet in Wessely's *Studien*, Vol. VI. In connexion with the question of the scholar's Christianity discussed by Collart (p. 20) one may refer to P. Lond. 230 (H. J. M. Milne, *Cat. of the Literary Papyri in the B.M.*, Nos. 207, 255), where, for school purposes, Psalms and Isocrates' *Ad Demonicum* are united on a single papyrus.

No. 3, an unidentified homily, affords an interesting example of the employment of the verso at a long interval after the recto had been used. The homily, on the verso, is in a hand of the fifth century, whereas the recto bears documents of A.D. 197! The explanation is given by Wilcken (*Archiv f. Pap.*, viii. 304 f.), who points out that Coptic monks (?), perhaps of the White monastery, acquired old papyrus from an official archive of the Severian period and made up the sheets into a codex. No. 4 is also described by the editor as a homily, but the use of the second person singular (ll. 1, 30, 35), and in many respects the style, suggest that it is rather a hymn or canticle.

Nos. 5-8 are literary: the most important is the last, which is a grammatical treatise of great value for questions of dialect and because it contains quotations from Alcaeus and Sappho. The text of this is probably capable of improvement, and its importance makes revision with the help of the papyrus very desirable. No. 7, described as 'fragment historique,' can perhaps be determined more exactly. It seems to be a fragment of the 'Acta Alexandrinorum,' already so well represented in papyri. The remains of Col. II suggest some such text as . . . οὐδὲν ἦσσαν τῶν [φιλο]τιμιῶν καὶ φιλοκνησῶ[πιῶν] κωλυθέντες, περὶ τοῦ [αὐτοῦς or ἑμῶς?] πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς τὸν Σ[εβ]αστὸν κρείναντος τοῦ [. . .] σου τὸν <ῶ>δε (or <τ>ε) δὴλω[θέντα] ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ [Ἑλλη]νικοῦ γένους.

No. 9, a fragment valuable from several points of view, has received from Wilcken a more probable explanation than that given by Collart. The latter refers in the introduction, for the question of the Persians of the Epigone, to Lesquier's *Inst. Mil.*, but ignores the numerous more recent discussions; indeed generally he tends to overlook recent literature. e.g. on p. 51 he speaks of Giartosio de Courten's edition of Sappho, but ignores Lobel's epoch-making volume. These omissions may be due to the slow progress of the work through the press.

Nos. 10-12 are the letters of Plato, the Ptolemaic epistrategus, already edited by Jouguet and Collart. With 13 we reach documents of the Roman period; in l. 1 of this [ἐνεστ]ῶ[τος] seems an obvious supplement. Of the two explanations of this document suggested by the editor, the second, that it is concerned with the sale of vetch, not with the farming of a tax, seems almost certainly the right one. In 17, 11 the μέτροι: Ἀρητίωνος is perhaps to be taken as an individual measure belonging to a certain Aretion rather than as a standard measure. The text of 19, a deed of warranty, is capable of improvement; e.g. in l. 1 τα τοῦ is no doubt —τάτου, the end of an honorific epithet; in l. 5 π[ρο]καταρίων suggests itself; the reading in l. 12 seems impossible—probably we have here a city-name (qu. Ἀπυλλωνοπολιτῶν?); in l. 16 θεοτέκνω is doubtless a proper name; in ll. 18-20 read κατὰ τοῦτο [τὸ χειρὸς γραφὸν καὶ καὶ ἐνδεδῆ]χθαι τοὺς προ[καταμένους. No. 20 is the important record of the hearing of a legal case before the *juridicus* published by Jouguet and Collart in the *Archiv f. Pap.* In the letter, No. 23, Wilcken has made a certain emendation in l. 6. He questions Collart's reading in l. 13, and I venture to suggest, from the facsimile, that the true reading is ἰ(=εἰ) δὲ μὴ οὐκ ἤμελλῃ (a vulgar form for ἡμελλον like εἶπα or l. ἡμέλλ<ησ>α?) σοι γράψω, i.e., in effect, 'you know the condition I am in; and in any case I would not think of writing it to you.' No. 25 is one of the most noteworthy texts in the volume; in fact it deserves to rank with the best examples we have of the more intimate private letter. It is a simple and touching Christian letter from a girl at Apamea to her aunt in Egypt (at Coptos) announcing her mother's death: she adds ὅ[τ]ε δὲ τὴν μητέρα μου εἶχα, μεθ' [ἐ]κιντῆς ὕλον τὸ γένος μου αὐτῇ (this is perhaps better than C.'s αὐτῇ) ἦν· ἀφ' οὗ δ[ὲ] ἐπελεύτησεν, ἔμυνα ἔρημος, μ[ε]τ[ε]θέντα ἔχουσα ἐπὶ ξένους τόποις. In his note on 26, 20-21 Collart finds a difficulty in the phrase ἀναγραφόμενος διὰ λαογραφίας ἀπὸ γυμνασίου τρίτου ἀμφόδου, and takes γυμνασίου as the name of the quarter; but the papyrus referred to by Bell in *Archiv f. Pap.*, vi. 108 proves that οἱ ἀπὸ γυμνασίου *did* sometimes pay poll-tax, though at a reduced rate. Hence the phrase means: 'registered as paying poll-tax (in the class of οἱ) ἀπὸ γυμνασίου in the third amphodon.'

There are several interesting documents among the accounts, fragmentary as several of these are. Most notable of all is the long and well-preserved roll, No. 42, which contains a land-register of Hiera Nesos and neighbouring localities. This extremely important document has received from the editor a careful and detailed treatment which adds greatly to its value for the student of land tenures and will make it a *locus classicus* for

this subject. In dealing with the ἄβελος γῆ (p. 154) he should have referred to Prof. Westermann's articles on the subject. Collart's elaborate commentary will doubtless require amplification and correction in detail, for there are many difficult points, but it is a masterly piece of work. It may be noted here that the use of the symbol — to indicate that the father's name was the same as the son's, *e.g.* Ἡρώου τοῦ — (note on ll. 413–426) has a parallel in P. Lond. 604, which Collart has overlooked.

As regards the other registers, in 37 ζατοκ should surely be read ζατοκ(ων), not ζατοκ(ος), as a tax, to correspond with ἐπιβολ(ης). For 41 see Wilcken in *Archiv f. Pap.*, viii. 304 ff.

H. I. B.

Hellenistic Civilisation. By W. W. TARN. Pp. viii + 312. London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1927. 16s.

THE Hellenistic age has fared ill at the hands of historians for many centuries: it was essentially a period of struggle between Greece and Rome for the mastery of the Mediterranean world, in which Rome triumphed; and, as generosity to an opponent was a virtue rarely found in a Roman, the written accounts of the events which were handed on for future generations represent the Greeks as either fools or knaves. But the spade is coming to the rescue at last, and inscriptions and papyri supply a growing body of evidence that there were men of ability and character to be found elsewhere than in Italy during the last three centuries B.C.: the archaeologist has become their *vates sacra*. They have not yet obtained official recognition at the Universities; but a few scholars have championed their cause, and none more zealously than Mr. Tarn.

In the book under review he has accumulated a remarkable mass of facts, and the chief criticism we have to make is that they are too tightly packed. In the opening chapters in particular, the rapidity with which new figures come on and disappear from the scene is almost bewildering, and the story would be more easily comprehensible if it were expanded to two or three times its present length: it would be a help too if maps were provided, for those who have not the whole of the Near East pictured in their minds. But what we want most in these chapters is more of Mr. Tarn, and the regret that he has not let himself go here increases as we get further into the book. In the last five chapters there is a greater proportion of illustrative comment, and the body of Hellenism not only comes to life, but is clothed with more elaboration and detail as the account progresses. Each of these chapters has an interest of its own: chap. vi (Hellenism and the Jews) deals with a familiar story from a new point of view; chap. vii provides a most valuable study of Trade and Exploration, a subject which has not previously been adequately treated in this country; in chap. viii (Literature and Learning) the chief writers of the period appear in a series of clever sketches, among which the page-long description of Theocritus may be cited as a gem; there is a clear and well-balanced account of Science and Art in chap. ix; and in chap. x (Philosophy and Religion) the interest deepens till the book ends in a passage of striking power.

J. G. M.

Israel among the Nations: an outline of Old Testament History. By NORMAN H. BAYNES. Pp. 328. London: Student Christian Movement, 1927. 5s.

THIS summary account of the history of Israel and Judah has already won the praise of those who will continually use it for the instruction of pupils. Only one of the ten chapters has reference to Hellenic studies, the last, which deals with the Jews and Hellenism. It is brief, admirably clear, and leaves in the general reader a desire for more information on the subject. For the general reader the book is intended, and the praise the present writer has heard from one is sufficient to prove the success of the author.

The specialist too may turn his attention to the opinions expressed by an obviously impartial writer. It is interesting to compare Mr. Baynes' tenth chapter with another quite recent treatment of the same subject, the sixth chapter of Mr. Tarn's *Hellenistic*

Civilisation: the first dismisses the successors of John Hyrcanus in a sentence; the second gives a matter-of-fact summary of Apollonius' capture of Jerusalem in 167 B.C., and does not spare Jannaeus. Mr. Baynes says of the Jewish Apocalyptic literature: 'We shall only find it worth our study if we see in it a vision of Hope in hopelessness, a faith in final Justice when Justice seems to have fled the world.' Mr. Tarn, in reference to the doctrine of rewards and punishments connected with the Messianic teaching, is trenchant: 'It had nothing to do with the modern hope that some day we may reach true values . . . the doctrine led, soon enough, to that abuse of it which has played such a part in the world, "Be virtuous in order that you may be rewarded."' Of more importance still are the points where the two writers agree, points too numerous to be discussed here; those who have longed for some safe guidance amongst the extreme doubt inspired by some modern treatments of the theme may surely find such where these two scholars are agreed. Where differences exist between the two, it is to be hoped that the Old Testament students who will use Mr. Baynes' book will turn to Mr. Tarn, and that the historical students will turn to Mr. Baynes. We may rejoice that the Hellenistic period is being carefully studied in our universities at last.

One comment is evoked by the modesty of the Preface; the bibliography is referred to as 'a selection from the reading of one who is no specialist,' but extends to 143 pages of a book containing 157 pages of text. References to *pro* and *contra* views on every point are occasionally supplemented by critical remarks, and generally by the names of most recent articles *scriptim*. Yet such an appendix can be so described. This cacoeches of bibliography threatens to end all our studies. For the moment the stream is in spate. Shall we all, Orientalists, Hellenists, art students and the rest, ever win to the shore? Should the general reader be asked to refer to all the ephemeral literature, including some 'curiosities,' cited in these notes? It might well corrupt him. Mr. Baynes finds room in this bibliography to jest about a very odious habit (p. 299, note 2); so perhaps he does not expect all his readers to be so encyclopaedic as his notes prove him to be.

Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen. By ERNST LANGLOTZ. Pp. 202. Pl. 100. Nurnberg: Ernst Fromann & Sohn, 1927.

It would be unsatisfactory to attempt to reconstruct the schools of sculpture belonging to the sixth and earlier fifth centuries from life-sized sculpture alone: it would be impossible to find in what district bronze statuettes were made without comparing them with other and larger works. Nevertheless, most scholars made the mistake of treating statues and statuettes as separate branches of archaeology; what excellent results can be obtained by combining them has been shown in a short but convincing section of Buschor and Hamann's *Olympia*, and, recently, in Dr. Langlotz' long-awaited book. The latter is one of the most valuable contributions to the history of Greek art which has appeared for many years, not only on account of its method, but because it is the only existing repertory of archaic bronze statuettes. The bronzes that it collects and introduces have been hitherto scattered, and, by many, overlooked.

Dr. Langlotz very rightly points out that more importance should be attached to his groups than to his theories of place and origin. We will, however, examine the latter first. The most satisfactory are those which are based on series of obviously local antiquities: the Argive and Tirynthian terra-cottas, for instance, and the Laconian reliefs, make a reliable foundation for our knowledge of the styles of Argos and Sparta. The reader will, at first, be startled to find the characteristics of Sikyon, Corinth and Kleonai differentiated, or that Samos is divided from Miletos. He may, however, become reconciled when he realises that the conclusions are the result of an attempt to find homes for certain allied but distinct features of North Peloponnesian bronzes, and of a very logical re-grouping of the works of the various Ionian schools.

One point, however, will strike anyone who has worked at archaic bronzes: too little importance is attached to provenance. The find-spot of a bronze is, of course, no proof of its origin, and only in certain circumstances a guide: yet, when numbers of

provincial-looking figures turn up at a site like Berekla in Arcadia, it is perverse to attribute them to Argos and Sikyon. No doubt they are influenced by those two important centres, but they have a distinct style of their own; moreover, those which are called Argive are proved to be local by the curious rendering of the eyes. Another case where provenance seems to me unnecessarily disregarded is that of the dancing girl from the Acropolis (Pl. 15*b*): she is attributed to Sikyon on account of her drapery, but her features are those of the undoubtedly Attic boy on Plate 99.

To pass on to the groups: the process is to bring together a small number of figures that resemble each other in style and are of the same period, then to combine several of these small groups into a large one covering a space of, say, 150 years. The first stage is achieved with remarkable success. The way the crowned figure from Olympia (Pl. 49*b*) has been enabled to find his kin at Sparta: the juxtaposition of the Zeus and Artemis from Olympia (Pl. 40); the discovery of the group of well-dressed goddesses with Grecian bends, to which belongs the Artemis Daidaleia; the definition of the class of which the athlete from Aderno forms the nucleus—all these are brilliant achievements. It is the second stage, the union of small groups with other small groups, that is unconvincing. We begin to suspect that style can sometimes be subjective when the author excuses certain peculiarities as due to change of period and accepts others as the mark of a school: we are convinced of it by the time he assigns to the Apollo of Tenea two such different descendants as the bronze youth from the Ptoon (Pl. 36*a*) on the one hand, and the well-known 'fair-haired boy' from the Acropolis on the other. Another connexion that is hard to accept is that of the New York Discobolos (Pl. 9) with Sparta.

And what are we to make of the long excursus on the shapes of Greek vases? Such an alien episode, however interesting in itself, is inadmissible. If the conclusions with regard to proportions and dating are applicable to Athens only, it is not worth while distorting the book to give them place: to apply them to the products of other States would justify the episode but be in itself absurd.

For the dating of the statues and bronzes we are much indebted: sixth-century dates are, however, still controversial, and I should prefer to place the two running girls from North Greece later than Dr. Langlotz, who considers that they were made between 600 and 560 B.C. Nor is it credible that the bronze warrior from Messenia (Pl. 50*b*) can be contemporary with the Spartan trumpeter (Pl. 50*c*), as is assumed on p. 96: the former is earlier, the latter later than the date suggested. It must also be confessed that the normal reader becomes embattered at the necessity of thinking in terms such as 'die Zeit des schönen Onetorides' or 'the Kimonian decade.'

To find fault with details, such as the exchange of numbers between Athens 13217 and Athens 13219 on pp. 56-7, or the use of 'Bassae' for 'Berekla' on p. 93, would be scarcely fair: they do not perceptibly mar the scholarly finish of this truly epoch-making book.

W. L.



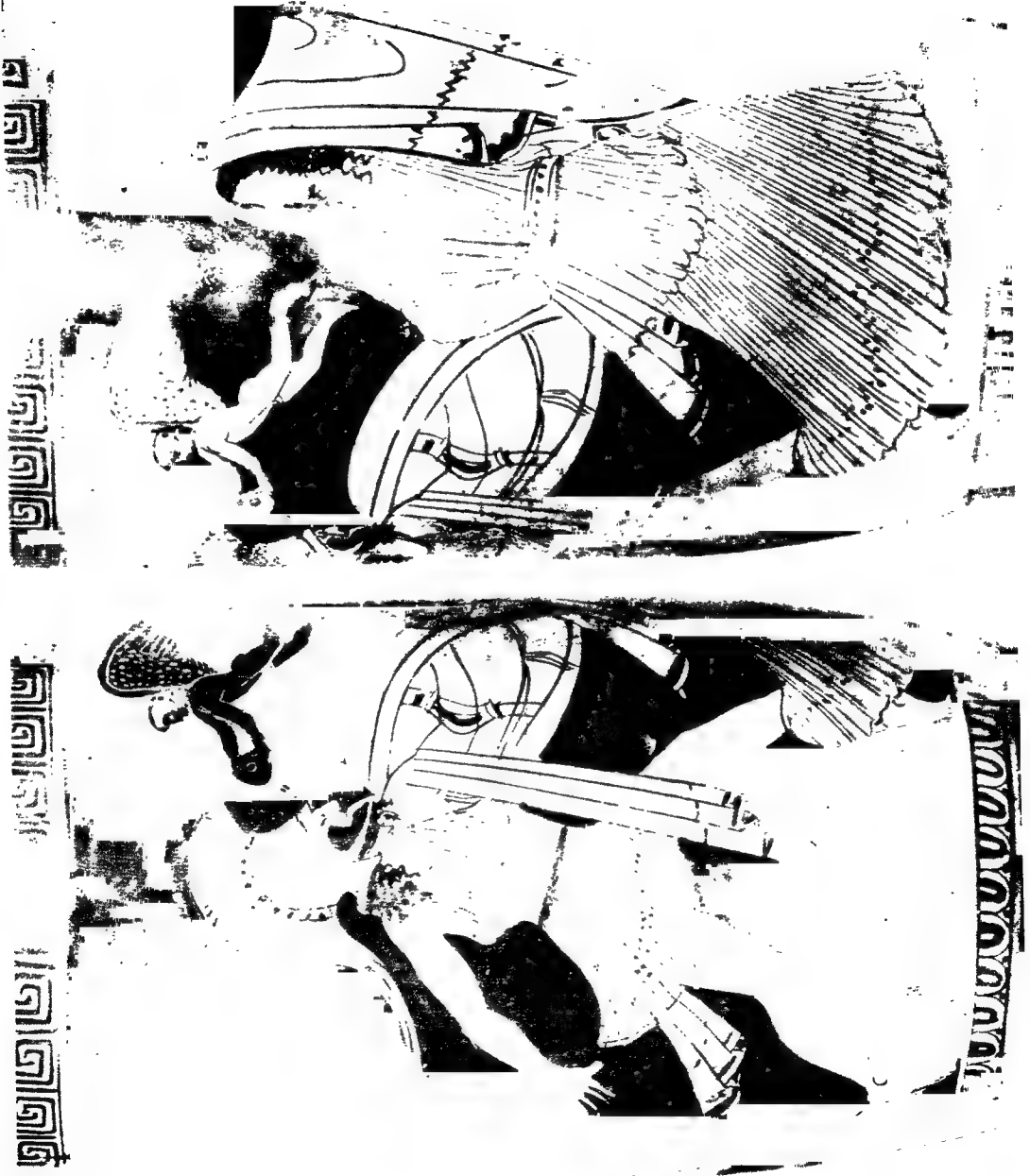
SKYPHOS IN LENINGRAD



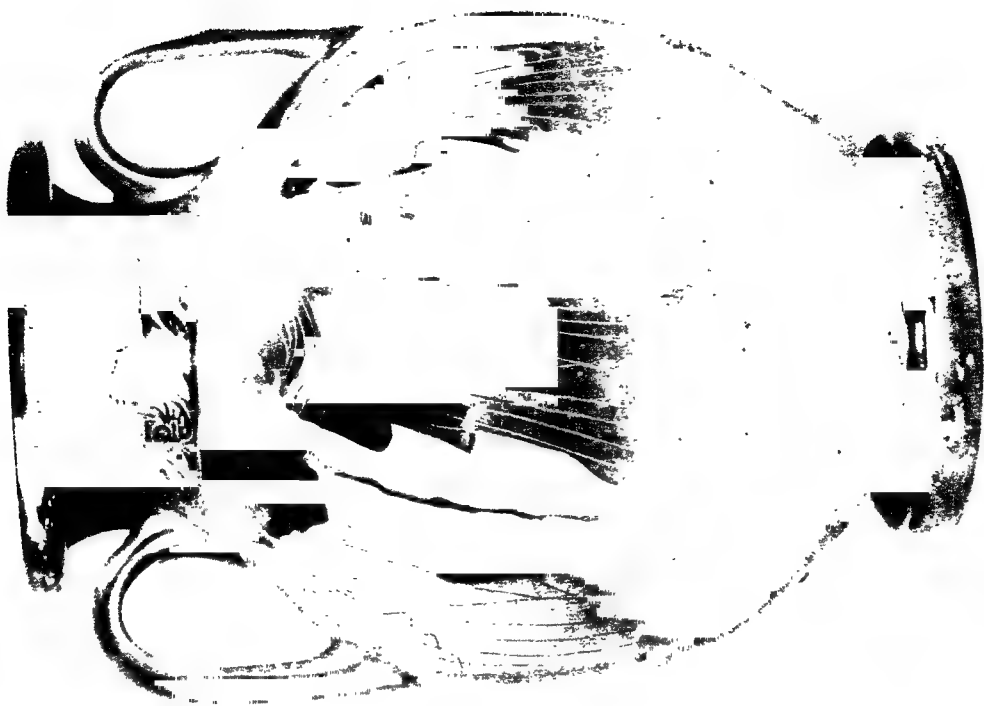
TWO LEKYTHI IN LENINGRAD

(A) NIKE

(B) WOMAN WITH A BOWL



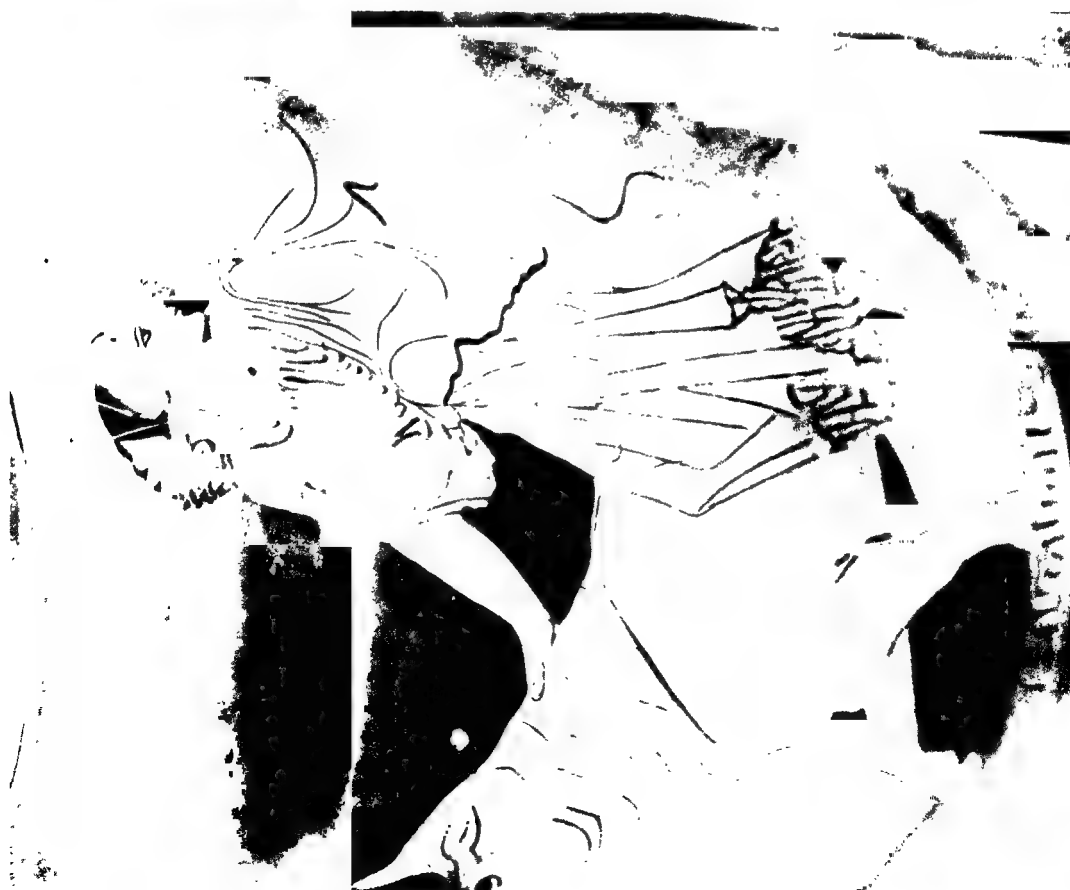
LEKYTHOS IN Leningrad MENLAUS PURSUING HELEN



PELIKE IN LENINGRAD: GREEKS AND AN AMAZON



B. YOUNG MAN ARMING



VASES IN Leningrad

A. EUROPA



NECK AMPHORAS IN LENINGRAD.

'B' IRIS AND ZEUS



'A' SILEN AND MAENAD



LEKYTHOS AND VASE FRAGMENTS IN LENINGRAD



COINS OF ANTIOCHUS IV. EPIPHANES.

NOTES ON THE *PERSAE* OF AESCHYLUS.

(PLATES IX, X)

As some of the following notes bring to the illustration of Aeschylus material gathered from Persian sources, they may seem to require a word or two of preface.¹

When the *Persae* was produced, in 472 B.C., a large section of the Greek people was still in process of delivery from Persian rule, to which it had been subject for more than half a century. Persians may not have been very numerous on the Ionian seaboard and the islands, but they were the ruling class, and any eastern Greek would know quite well how they lived and how they behaved; some too had been privileged to study them at close quarters, for the Ionian ships in Xerxes' fleet carried as *ἐπιβάται* Persians or Medes or Sacae (Her. 7. 184). In Athens itself, for many years before Plataea, Persia had been a subject of the most painful and pressing interest: every Athenian must have desired to know all about these Persians; and if he had no Ionian friends to ask, there were many of his countrymen who had visited Asia or even helped to sack Sardis, and the spoils of Marathon were before his eyes. After Plataea, if the desire to know was less pressing, the opportunity of knowledge was even greater, for Athenian fleets were busy in the work of liberation. And the very production of this play proves that the interest was alive.

I take it then as certain that Aeschylus and his audience knew, at least by hearsay, a great deal more about Persia and Persians than we are ever likely to know.² Though, therefore, it would be absurd to look in Aeschylus for any painstaking attempt at realism, it is only rational to suppose that he used this knowledge where it was convenient for him to do so; and in fact we see him not only using it (*e.g.* 660 ff., 979), but going out of his way to display it (765 ff.). And it is only rational also in a student of the *Persae* to look in the scanty surviving information about the early Achaemenians for facts that he may have known and used—though, in the nature of the case, it will not always be possible to say that he must have done so.³

¹ I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce objects in various departments of the Museum; to M. Babelon in Paris, Dr. Hofmann in Leipzig, Miss Richter in New York, Dr. Watzinger in Tübingen, Dr. Zahn in Berlin, for photographs or imprints of objects in their charge, and to Dr. P. Arndt for the imprint of a gem in his own collection. My notes on costume could not have been written without constant reference to my friend Prof. J. D. Beazley.

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² I have for this reason discussed at some length below (157) a point in which he is commonly supposed to be mistaken. See also on 578.

³ I have quoted the Behistūn inscription, as *Bh.*, by the pages of L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, *Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistūn* (1907); other Old Persian inscriptions, as *W.B.*, by the pages of F. H. Weissbach and W. Bang, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften* (1908). Dalton stands for O. M. Dalton,

24.⁴

βασιλῆς βασιλέως ὑποχοι μέγαλον.

The words remind one of the regular formula used both by Darius and by Xerxes: *e.g.* The Behistūn inscription begins, 'I am Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia . . .', or, at Elvend (W.B. p. 37), 'Ein grosser Gott ist Auramazda . . . welcher Darius zum König machte, zum einzigen König über viele, zum einzigen Gebieter über viele.' And in D.'s one surviving Greek inscription (*B.C.H.* 13. p. 531 = Hicks and Hill, *G.H.I.* 20), βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Δαρείος ὁ 'Υστάσπεω Γαδάτα δούλω τάδε λέγει.⁵

In the last inscription the word δούλος is thought to be the translation of the phrase *manā badaka* recurrent at Behistūn for the king's lieutenants. Similarly the elder Cyrus is δούλος of his grandfather Astyages (Nic. Dam., *F.H.G.* iii. p. 402), the younger of his brother Artaxerxes (Xen. *An.* 2. 5. 38). Greeks familiar with this use would feel an added piquancy in *Pers.* 242, οὗτινος δούλοι κέκληνται φωτός. The French editors of the inscription quote Arist. *de Mundo*, 398 a 30, βασιλεῖς δούλοι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως; add *Metaph.* 1160 b 28.

157. θεοῦ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ ἔφυς.

Teuffel-Wecklein alone defend the view which others share—"Nach orientalischer Sitte, τοὺς βασιλεῖς θεοὺς καλοῦσιν οἱ Πέρσαι Schol., Curt. viii. 5. 11" [*Persas* . . . *reges suos inter deos colere*]. I will not add to these the inscription in which Darius calls himself son of the goddess Neit (*Rec. Trav. Philol. Arch.* 13. p. 106), for we knew already that Darius was a god in Egypt (Diod. 1. 95), and the inscription is in hieroglyphics and plainly meant for Egyptian consumption; nor that a Median admirer says that Cyrus is ἀπὸ θεῶν γεγωνός (Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 1. 24), for Cyaxares makes no such claim (*ib.* 5. 5. 8). And neither the Schol. nor Curtius deserves any credence here. If the one is not merely drawing an inference from A. and the other from Alexander's demand for προσκύνησις, which he is discussing, what they say is true of the Arsacids and Sassanians, and is therefore not to be accepted from them of the Achaemenians unless it is corroborated. And there is no corroboration, for no one, I fancy, will venture in this case to put Pseudo-Callisthenes (1. 36, 38, 39) in the box.

Those who approach the question from the other side have either accepted from A. the belief that the Persians worshipped their kings, or, more commonly,

The Treasure of the Oxus (1926); Flandin, for E. Flandin et P. Coste, *Voyage en Perse*; Herzfeld, for E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (1920); Moulton, for J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (1913); Sarre, for F. Sarre, *Die Kunst d. Alten Persien* (1923); S. H., for Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910). I should add that I have no knowledge of the original languages of the inscriptions.

⁴ I use the notation of Dindorf, which is common to Wilamowitz and Sidgwick.

I have consulted the commentaries of Hermann (1852), Paley (1879), Prickard (1889), Schiller-Conradt (1888), Sidgwick (1915), Teuffel-Wecklein (1922), Weil (1862), Zomariades-Wecklein (1891).

⁵ So Strabo, xv. p. 730, ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ κείμεαι Κύρος βασιλεὺς βασιλέων; the existing 'tomb of Cyrus' (S.H. pp. 172 ff.) does not bear this title (W.B. p. 47). Similarly Gotarzes is called σατράπης τῶν σατραπῶν on an inscription of Mithridates II (Herzfeld, p. 39).

in view of the total silence of early sources, both Persian and Greek, and of Darius's eagerness to give Auramazda the praise almost for his every action, assume him to be mistaken.⁶ And for the mistake two reasons have been alleged.

The first is that it arises from a misunderstanding of Persian *προσκύνησις* before the king (E. R. Bevan, *Encycl. Rel. Eth.* iv. 526): but this explanation is in my opinion inadequate. There are plenty of passages where Greeks refuse to receive *προσκύνησις* themselves or to render it to the Persian king; and the reason, if given, is either that it is a nasty foreign custom or that it is rendering unto man what is due only to God.⁷ But nowhere, I think, is it suggested that if you do render it to man you are thereby committed to the view that he is a god,⁸ and some passages plainly imply the opposite. The cravens who truckle to Hybrias (and whether he uses the word *προσκυνεῖν* or *κυνεῖν*, it is *προσκύνησις* he means) do so not worshipping him, but merely *δεσπόταν καὶ μέγαν βασιλῆα φωνέοντες*.⁹ And when Oedipus says to Teiresias (*O.T.* 327), *πάντες σε προσκυνούμεν οἷδ' ἱκτήριοι*, he can hardly mean more than that. By *προσκύνησις* you salute not a god, but a master (Xen. *Anab.* 3. 2. 13 [*q.v.*], *οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε*: Luc. *Dial. Mort.* 14. 4), and so to salute a man is *αἰσχρόν* (Plut. *Artax.* 22. Aelian, *V.H.* 1. 21). Impious it is not said to be. 'There is a difference,' says Callisthenes in Arrian (*An.* 4. 11), 'between the honours due to gods, to heroes, to men: οὐκ οὖν εἰκὸς ξύμπαντα ταῦτα ἀναταράσσοντας τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐς σχῆμα ὑπέρογκον καθιστάναι τῶν τιμῶν ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ τό γε ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἐς ταπεινότητα οὐ πρόπευσαν καταβάλλειν τὰ ἴσα ἀνθρώποις τιμώντας.' Such views as these afford no basis for A.'s supposed mistake.¹⁰ And there is another point. *Προσκύνησις* in Persia is not confined to the king: Her. (1. 134) expressly says that it is the regular greeting paid to those socially much superior. If so, a misconception about the king alone seems inexplicable.

Lately, however, a new view has been put forward (by Miss L. R. Taylor,

⁶ Let me add to the reasons that, if Her. is to be believed, Darius described himself on an inscription in Thrace as *ἀνὴρ ἀριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων* (4. 91). It was at least not excessive modesty which prevented him from calling himself a god.

⁷ See, besides passages to be quoted and the accounts of Alexander's demand for *προσκύνησις* (Arrian, *An.* 4. 10 ff., Plut. *Alex.* 54, Q. Curt. 8. 18, Justin, 12. 7), Herod. 7. 136, Dem. *Meid.* 549, Nepos, *Conon* 3, Aesch. *Ag.* 925, Eur. *Or.* 1507; cf. *Troad.* 1021.

⁸ Except perhaps in the case of Alexander: see note 10. The nearest is Isocr., *Paneg.* 151, *θηγόντων μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσκυνούντων καὶ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντων τῶν δὲ θεῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀλιγαρχούντων*. But here *προσκ.*

and δ. *προσαγ.* are distinct stages, and even so δαίμων is not θεός.

⁹ Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.* 2. p. 128; but see W. Schmid in *B.P.W.* 1927, 989.

¹⁰ I need not discuss Alexander's attempt to extract *προσκύνησις* from his Macedonians, because, if his claim to be a god was already before them, the granting of *προσκύνησις* might naturally become the test of its acceptance and acquire for the particular occasion the significance which in general I deny it. Recent discussions of this difficult subject: *Klio*, xix. pp. 113 ff., xx. 179 ff., 398 ff., *ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΝ Swoboda*, pp. 194 ff., and Miss Taylor in *J.H.S.* xlvii. 53 ff. To her references upon the gesture itself add *J. Royal Asiatic Soc.* 1919, 531 ff. Kaerst, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, ed. 3, I know only from *C.R.* xlii. 148.

J.H.S. xlvii. 53 ff.), that the *προσκύνησις* is addressed not indeed to the king as god, but to his *fravashi*, or immortal double, as *δαίμων* or *genius*. Miss Taylor is concerned with Hellenistic ruler-cults and her evidence mostly belongs to the fourth century. Of the early fifth century, in view of the uncertainty as to the part played by the *fravashi* in early Zoroastrianism (Moulton, pp. 254 ff.), I will only say that if the *προσκύνησις* rendered to the king so differed in kind from that rendered to other nobles as to mislead Greeks, the silence of our sources seems to me as surprising as before.

My own solution is much less recondite: I do not think A. ascribes king-worship to the Persians at all. Elsewhere in this play the spirit of the dead Darius is indeed called *δαίμων* (620, 642 and perhaps 845), but (with one exception, mentioned below) Darius, in his lifetime, is spoken of with more reserve as *βασιλεὺς ἰσοδαίμων* (634), *ἰσόθεος* (857), and *ὡς θεός* (711); Xerxes as *ἰσόθεος φῶς* (80). And Atossa herself in this very place (150) is addressed in similar terms. With these careful qualifications before us it seems to me that A. can no more be taken *au pied de la lettre* than Lucretius and Tityrus when they use the word *deus* of Epicurus and Augustus, or than Gorgias, who called Xerxes *ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεὺς* ([Longin.] π. ὑψ. 3. 2). When the chorus call Darius and Xerxes *θεοί* (or rather *θεοὶ Περσῶν*, for to my ear the genitive is no less material here than in Gorgias), they are talking in a figurative and (in so far as that is part of A.'s design) an impious manner, but they mean no more than they meant in 80 and 150 and will mean again in the subsequent passages. And the next line surely shows it: *εἴ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκεν στρατῷ*. Darius was a god to the Persians because he was successful: Xerxes is a god—unless indeed its ancient fortune has deserted the army, in which case, as the sequel shows, they will not call him even *ἰσόθεος* again, and Darius will speak of him as a mortal who has presumed too far (749). And in the single other passage where *θεός* is used without qualification a similar explanation again follows close on its heels. 'Release for us,' says the chorus to the nether powers, 'Περσῶν Σουσιγενῇ θεόν' (644): then, almost at once (654), *θεομήστωρ ἐκικλήσκετο Πέρσαις, θεομήστωρ δ' ἔσκειν, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν εὖ ποδούχει*. The later scholia then were right in adding to the note of their predecessors quoted above. ἢ ἴσα καὶ θεοῖς ἐτίμων.

165. ταῦτά μοι διπλῇ μέριμνα φραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσίν,
μήτε χρημάτων ἀνάνδρων πλήθος ἐν τιμῇ σέβειν,
μήτ' ἀχρημάτοισι λάμπειν φῶς ὅσον σθένος πάρα.
168. ἔστι γὰρ πλοῦτός γ' ἀμεμφής, ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμῷ φόβος·
ὄμμα γὰρ δόμων νομίζω δεσπότου παρουσίαν.

I am here concerned only with 168.

'“Our Eye.”' says Mr. Sidgwick truly enough, 'a common Greek figure for any thing or person that is precious.' And so others. But that, though it explains 169, does not account for 168, where another idea is uppermost which commentators leave unexplained. Atossa is thinking of the eye as a source of light—the source, in fact, of the *φῶς* in 167. The idea is not very uncommon: Pind. *Nem.* 10. 39, *ἀξιοθείην κεν, ἐὼν Θρασύκλου Ἀντία τε ξύγγονος, Ἄργει*

205. ὄρῳ δὲ φεύγοντ' αἰετὸν πρὸς ἐσχάραν
 Φοῖβον· φόβῳ δ' ἄφθογγος ἐστάθην, φίλοι·
 μεθύστερον δὲ κίρκον εἰσορῶ δρόμῳ
 πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κάρα
 τίλλονθ'.

This portent has a remarkably Greek look, but its reference to Persia is also unmistakable.¹⁷ Her. indeed asserts (1. 132) that the Persians did not have altars (*βωμοί*), but he means places for burnt sacrifice. They used a raised hearth for the sacred fire (S.H., Taf. x, Sarre, Fig. 3, Flandin, iv. 180), which Strabo (xv. p. 733) calls *βωμός*, A., more accurately, *ἐσχάρα*. A. is

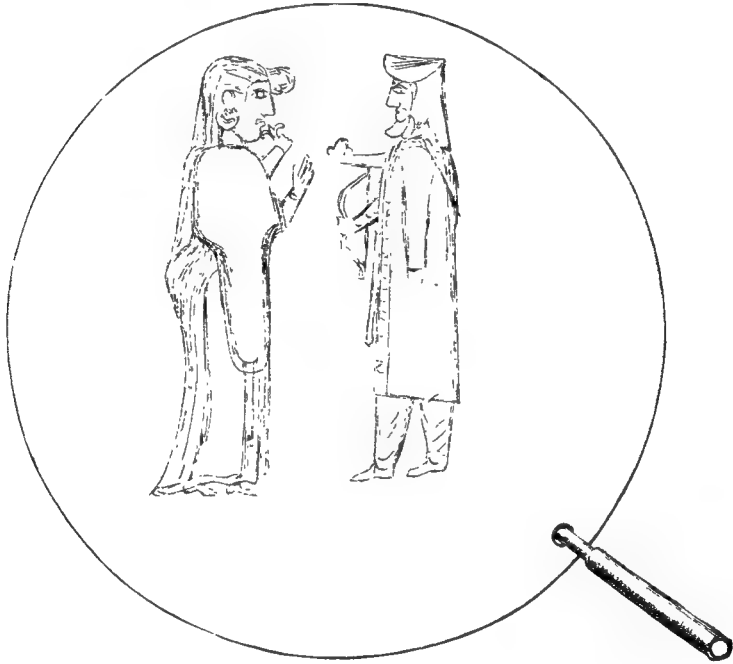


FIG. 1.—SILVER BOX IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. (From Dalton, Fig. 19.)

right too in selecting Phoebus for the sacrifice of the sun-worshipping Persians, and in choosing the eagle. For the eagle is not merely, as in the *Agamemnon*, an appropriate representative of any monarch (*C.R.* xvi, p. 436); it is the specific emblem of the Persian kings: Xen. *Cyr.* 7. 1. 4, ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ [Κύρῳ] τὸ σημεῖον αἰετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος· καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ διαμένει: *Anab.* 1. 10. 12, Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 31, Q. Curt. 3. 3. 7. We may compare the eagle which was reported to have reared Achaemenes (Aelian, *N.A.* 12. 21), and those which encouraged

¹⁷ Similarly Atossa's offerings (611 ff.) look like Greek ritual (*Od.* 11. 27, Eur. *I.T.* 160), but are very likely Persian also (Strabo, xv. p. 733). Greeks and Persians

made so much noise over their differences that we are in some danger of forgetting to consider what they may have had in common.

Cyrus at two critical moments (Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 1. 1, 2. 4. 19); and contrast Her. 3. 76, where the usurping Magi are symbolised by vultures. In 207 δέ may be A.'s casual δέ for γάρ (Headlam, *On Editing A.* p. 119): more probably, I think, the sight of her son's bird in flight to the altar of his god has already alarmed the queen before she knows the cause.

The eagle, however, deserves one word more, for I do not think it is to be found on existing Achaemenian monuments.¹⁸ What does appear constantly on royal monuments and on seals (Fig. 10, Pl. IX, 1-5) is the symbol borrowed from Assyria, apparently to represent Auramazda.¹⁹ It varies a little in detail, but in all except head might fairly be called a spread eagle. It seems natural, therefore, to guess either that the Greeks took this unfamiliar emblem for an

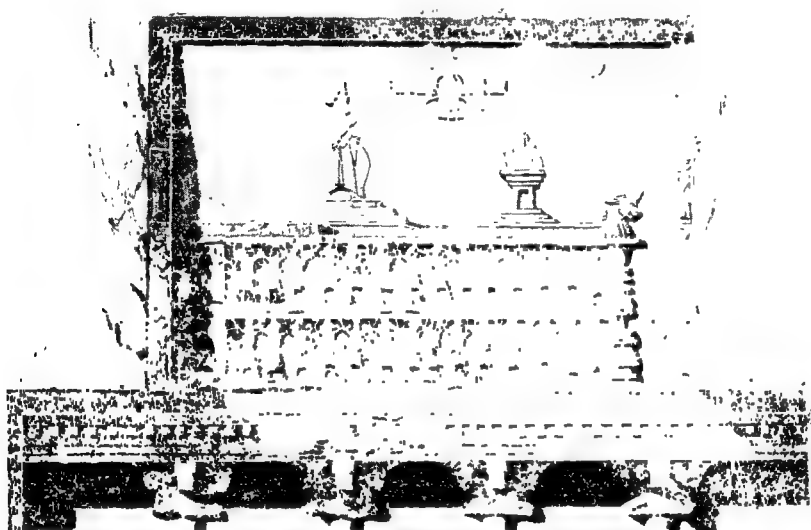


FIG. 2.—RELIEF FROM A PERSIAN ROYAL TOMB. (From Flandin, iv. 176.)²⁰

eagle, or perhaps that the Persians themselves so spoke of it.²¹ Its Assyrian prototype, as Mr. Sidney Smith points out to me, was carried in the chariots of Assurbanipal mounted on a staff in the manner described by Xenophon (cf. Plut. *Artax.* 10). Indeed, if I were producing an illustrated edition of the *Persae*, I should be tempted to depict here a relief from one of the royal tombs at Persepolis (Fig. 2), where the king stands in adoration before a fire on a

¹⁸ Unless three small gold discs in the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, 25, 33, 34) are such.

¹⁹ Some (*J.H.S.* xlvii. p. 56) think it represents the king's *fravashi* (see p. 136 above).

²⁰ This relief, with trifling variants, appears above the entrances of seven Achaemenian royal tombs—that of Darius

and the six others modelled on it (*S.H.* pp. 57 ff., Sarre, 32-4, Flandin, iii. 164, 166, 167, iv. 172-6, 178).

²¹ Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* 1. 10, p. 42, Ζωροάστρης . . . φησὶ κατὰ λέξιν ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐστὶ κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἱέρακος seems to bear on this subject; but obscurely, for the bird's head is precisely what the symbol lacks.

raised stand and the sun, and the symbol of the god floats overhead. Athens and Persepolis lie far apart, but a similar scene, with the figure of the king (duplicated for symmetry) on either side of the altar, occurs on Persian cylinders (Pl. IX, 3),²² and I have sometimes amused myself with the fancy that some such representation might have come A.'s way.

The hawk, when it comes into sight, raises a difficulty. Birds of the hawk kind (and *κίρκος* is not, it seems, to be more precisely identified), unless I am mistaken, strike, grasp and pierce with their talons, but tear the prey with their beaks, as Homer implies: *Od.* 15. 526, *ἐν δὲ πόδεσσι τίλλε πέλειαν ἔχων*. Since, therefore, A. cannot be supposed ignorant of the fact, if he wrote *χηλαῖς κάρα τίλλοντα*, then *χηλαί* means 'jaws' or 'beak.' Nor, I think, is this inconceivable. Hesych. gives *γνάθος* as one meaning of the word; the beak of a bird (rather than its claws) resembles in shape the claws of a crab or the hoofs of sheep and oxen, of which *χηλαί* is commonly used, and finally, since the animal which kills, in Eur. *Hec.* 90 a deer, and in Theocr. *Ep.* 6 a kid, is a wolf, 'jaws' is the meaning which I must ascribe to it in those passages. Still *χηλαί* is certainly used of the claws of birds (Eur. *Ion.* 1207, *φουνικοσκελεῖς χηλάς*),²³ I do not know that it is used of their beaks, and there may be another possibility.

The two datives in the first half of this sentence may perhaps consist if the *πετρά* belong to the eagle and are the object of *ἐφορμαίνοντα*. The words, however, are not so understood either by the scholiasts or by such moderns as express an opinion, the ambiguity of *πτεροῖς* is somewhat against this view, and, unless it be taken, the two datives seem to me intolerable. I could be happy with either were t'other away, but if one is to go, it must be the more obvious *πτεροῖς*. Remove it and its place is most naturally filled either with an object to *ἐφορμαίνοντα* balancing *κάρα* (*νώτοις*, therefore, rather than *κείνω τ'*, Heimsoeth, or *περκνῶ τ'*, Oberdick), or with an instrumental dative more nearly akin to that which accompanies the second participle. And if this is what is wanted, then let us write *χηλαῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ γνάθῳ* (or *ράμφει* or *ρύγχει*, whichever is the tragic for 'beak'), and derive a faint comfort from 516, *ποδοῦν ἐν γέλλου*, where our passage is at least not far from the author's mind.

303. The scholia on this line refer to Book VI of a work *περὶ λιμένων* ascribed by M and the Byzantine scholia to Timoxenus, by the marginal note of G and L to Philoxenus. I presume that they mean the Rhodian admiral of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose work in ten books with this title is frequently cited. His name, however, was Timosthenes.

²² Delaporte, *Cylindres Orient.*, No. 401 (= Babelon, *Coll. Pauvert de la Chapelle*, 16), another, *ib.* 400; cf. Weber, *Altorient. Siegelbilder*, Fig. 464 a, and a cone seal in the Hermitage, *O.T. und Sem. Studies in mem. of W.R. Harper*, 1. p. 379, Fig. 26. The type is presumably derived from an Assyrian model where the fire is replaced by the sacred tree: Menant, *Coll. de*

Clercq. 303, 344. *Glypt. Orient.* ii. Pl. X. 2; Hayes Ward, *J. P. Morgan Coll.* 297, 303, *Seal Cyl. of W. Asia*, pp. 219 ff.

²³ And probably Soph. *Ant.* 1003, *σπώντας ἐν χηλαῖσιν ἀλλήλους φοραῖς*. This phrase is not really on all fours with A., for *σπών* is not quite the same as *τίλλειν*, and the species of bird is not named. Moreover, *ἐν χ.* may mean 'gripping, they . . .'

309. *νήσον τήν πελειοθρέμμουνα*

Those commentators who have rightly observed that this island cannot be Salamis make no conjecture as to its identity. The Admiralty chart of the strait (No. 894) indicates, close to the shore of Salamis in Sileni Bay (the north shore of which is the promontory identified as Kynosura), a small island or rock called Peleia, which at first sight seems a strong claimant. And perhaps it is so; but I cannot ascertain the authority for the name. It appears first on the Admiralty chart in 1920, apparently from a Greek Government chart of 1916. Mr. H. M. Woodward, of whom I enquired, writes, 'In the big *Karten von Attika* (Curtius-Kaupert, 1893) the name is spelt Pélisäs. This (*Πέλισαις*) does not seem like any modern Greek word to be found in the dictionary, so might possibly be a survival from *Πέλεια*, though I should not like to affirm it. If it appears as Peleia on the Admiralty chart, it may well represent a deliberate attempt to affirm your equation.' The text to Curtius-Kaupert is silent on Pélisäs. In favour of the view that Peleia is an archaeological guess is the fact, there disclosed (vii. 27), that Sileni or Silenia Bay is a name based on the assumption, right or wrong, that the name of the neighbouring coast, Selinia, represents A.'s *ἀκταὶ Σιληνίων* (303): against it, that *Σιληνίων* in A. is a proper name, whereas *πελειοθρέμμουνα* is not, and there seems to be no reason why anyone should coin a new proper name out of it.

378. *πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἀναξ*
ἔς ναῦν ἐχώρει πᾶς θ' ὄπλων ἐπιστάτης·
 380. *τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρᾶς·*
πλέονσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος,
καὶ πάννυχον δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν
ναῶν ἀνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεών.

'They all kept their proper station' (381). Who did? The squadrons, you might suppose, but the gender forbids. The oarsmen and the marines it seems then—lest we should suspect them of embarking on the wrong ships or, having embarked on the right, of swopping ships or places at sea. A. must surely mean the squadrons, and in order to enable him to do so, 381 must follow 383, where 'they' will be 'the captains.'

Then this encouragement the squadrons administer to each other: will they not need it more during the long dark hours at sea than at the moment of embarkation? And shall we not arrange the lines in the order 383, 381, 380, and, to crown all, may we not suppose that *παρεκάλει* means, or at least connotes, what A. signifies at *Ag.* 289 by *παραγγέλλω*—the passage of the word or cry from one squadron to another, not so much to hearten their friends as to enable them to keep station and to avoid collision in the dark? Indeed Schiller-Conradt and Zomarides-Wecklein wish it to have some such meaning even in its present position.

578. Headlam's suggested explanation of *ἀμύντων* (*C.R.* xvi. 55) as alluding to the Zoroastrian respect for the elements must be received with some caution in view of the alleged disrespect shown both by Cambyses and by

Xerxes for earth (Her. 3. 35, 7. 114), by the former for fire (Her. 3. 16) and the latter for water (Her. 7. 35). It is in any case more safely supported by reference to Her. 1. 131, 138 than by citations from the *Vendidad*, since Darmesteter's belief in the antiquity of this part of the *Avesta* is not shared by modern scholars (see Moulton, p. 215). A. at any rate has no inkling of the sanctity of earth in Persia.²⁴ The bodies of the Achaemenian kings were, in fact, not exposed on *dakhmas*, but deposited above ground in sepulchral buildings: A., however, transports (from ignorance or indifference) the remains of Darius from Persepolis to Susa, commits him to the charge of Greek guardians of the lower world (222, 628, 689), and seems to have buried him like Agamemnon or any other Greek. That Xenophon (*Cyr.* 3. 3. 3, 8. 7. 25; cf. *Cic. de Leg.* 2. 56) should similarly bury Cyrus does not help us, for Cyrus's religion is unknown, but A., though wrong in actual fact, may be right in theory, for the Achaemenid Artachaees is so buried in Her. 7. 117, and a seemingly Achaemenian burial was found at Susa (de Morgan, *Délég. en Perse*, viii. p. 34). See also Her. 1. 140. Strabo, xv. p. 735 (where Magian practice is distinguished from Persian), Moulton, pp. 202, 398.

632. Headlam has, I think,^{24a} made it very probable that, between the anapaests and the lyrics, the chorus at this point uttered ἐπωδαί in unintelligible and inarticulate cries (*C.R.* xvi. 57; cf. xviii. 241). Perhaps I may lend the view a little support and also dispose of an old difficulty by referring to this unwritten interlude the notorious passage of Aristophanes—*Ran.* 1028 f., ἐχάρην γοῦν † ἡνίκ' ἤκουσα † περὶ Δαρείου τεθνεώτος | ὁ χορὸς δ' εὐθὺς τῷ χεῖρ' ὠδὴ ξυγκρούσας εἶπεν ἱανοῖ. The cry ἱανοῖ was not to be found in A. by Ar.'s scholiasts, nor have subsequent attempts to introduce it been very convincing. And if what Dionysus likes is inarticulate cries, then, in a play which is full of them, this was the place *par excellence* to cite. Clapping of the hands, though not, I think, specifically mentioned in necromancy, might well have formed part of such a scene.

I cannot emend 1028, and will merely say that the popular view that it contains the word νίκη or νικᾶν seems to assume quite unwarrantably that Dionysus's comment has some serious bearing on Aeschylus's claim in the preceding lines. I should expect myself some account of Atossa's proceedings, or perhaps some verb covering the proceedings both of Atossa and the chorus—*e.g.* ὡς ἐγόητευσαν.

660. κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὖμαριν ἀείρων,
 βασιλείου τιάρας
 φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.

A. is reticent about the costumes of his characters, but it would be interesting to know how they were dressed; and, though I do not think we can determine very precisely, there are facts which bear upon the matter.

²⁴ Unless 499 be so regarded; but the language there would suit Greek as well as Persian, and in any case the speech contains matter which can hardly be A.'s

(Verrall, *Bacchants of Eur.* pp. 283 ff.).

^{24a} In spite of Etrem's recent criticism (*Symbol. Osloens.* vi. 10).

On Persian monuments two costumes appear among the attendants of the king, who often, as in Fig. 3, wear them side by side. I will call that worn by figures 2 and 4, costume I, that by Nos. 1, 3 and 5, costume II. On the tomb of Darius, Gobryas wears I, Aspathines II; both men are Persians, and both dresses, whatever their origin,²⁵ are for our purposes Persian.

Costume I is a voluminous robe, girt at the waist, and closely resembling, if not identical with, the dress which we have seen worn by Persian women.

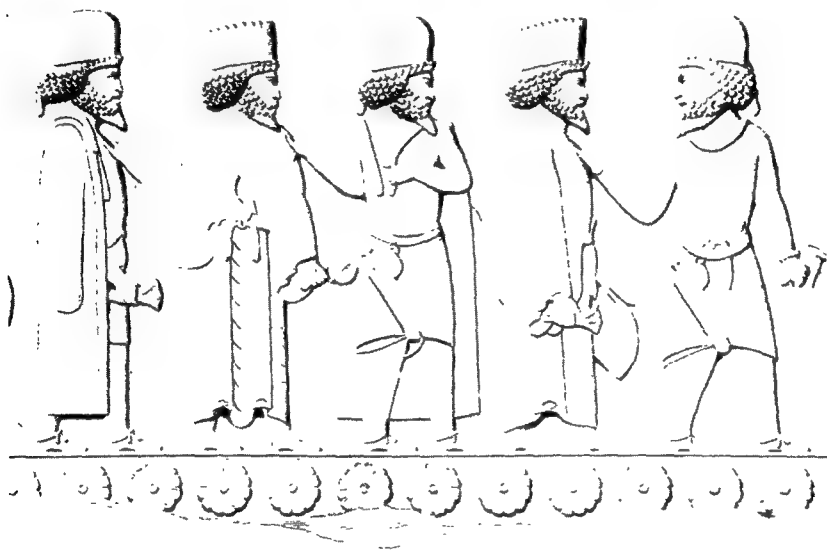


FIG. 3.—RELIEF FROM PERSEPOLIS. (From Flandin, ii. 96.)

The wide loose fold which forms the sleeve can be thrown right back on to the shoulder when more freedom of movement is required, and leaves the arm and some part of the side bare, as may be seen in Pl. IX, 1, and more plainly on monumental sculpture (*e.g.* Sarre, 16, 17; Flandin, iii. 122–124, 152, 153).

²⁵ It is commonly supposed that one is Median, the other Persian, though opinions differ as to which is which. Costume II, as we shall see, is described by Her. and Xen., both of whom definitely say that it is Median (H. 7. 62, X. Cyr. 8. 3. 1; cf. 1. 3. 2), as does Strabo (xi. p. 526). Costume I might be thought more fitted than II to the hotter climate of Persia (as opposed to Media: Strabo, *l.c.*), but I should not myself describe it as *φαυλότερος* (X. Cyr., 1. 3. 2; cf. 2. 4. 5, H. 1. 135): and Persians *σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι* (H. 1. 71), though

this may well refer to Persians in the Median costume II: see note 34. Herzfeld (S.H. pp. 50 ff.) considers I Median, II Persian, disregarding the Greek evidence. And since he wrote it has been noticed that, among the nations who support the king's throne on the tomb of Darius, a figure in costume I is definitely labelled Persian, while his neighbour in costume II was probably labelled Mede: see Weissbach, *Keilinschriften am Grabe d. Darius* in *Abh. K. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, 29. 1 (a reference I owe to the kindness of Prof. E. H. Minns).

Costume I is that uniformly worn by the king on Persian monuments²⁶ (cf. Fig. 2), and it would no doubt have been worn by Darius if the *Persae* had been staged by a Persian. That A. used it, however, is very improbable, for, though some Greeks at least must have seen it on Darius, it seems to be unknown to Greek art²⁷ and literature. Moreover, the king usually wears with this dress, not the frilled hat seen in Figs. 2 and 3, or the alternatives to it worn by his followers,²⁸ but either an indented crown (as at Behistūn, cf. Pl. IX, 1, 3, 6-8) or a large cylindrical hat which varies a little in detail, but resembles the so-called *πόλος*.²⁹ And the headgear at any rate which goes with costume I seems to be ruled out by A.'s words, for though this hat is sometimes called a *τιάρα* by moderns, the name appears to be misused. The *τιάρα* was a soft felt hat or cap such as we shall meet in connexion with costume II.³⁰

Let us then dismiss costume I from our minds and consider costume II. Nos. 1, 3 and 5 in Fig. 3 are all wearing the same dress, except that No. 5 has not the loose, sleeved cloak (*κάνδυς*) which Nos. 1 and 3 wear thrown on their shoulders hussar-fashion, making no use of the sleeves (cf. Fig. 1).³¹ They have a rounded cap with a flap falling down the back, a sleeved coat girt at the waist and reaching to the knee, and top-boots. Let us compare this with the dress which, with or without the cloak, is commonly worn by Persians in later Greek art³² (Fig. 4). How do the two differ? The Persepolitan wears a hat more suited to cere-

²⁶ Unless the silver statuette, Dalton, Pl. II. 1, Fig. 41, is an exception; I do not understand this costume, but it is nearer to I than to II, and the wearer is not evidently royal. Dalton 85 is another possible exception.

²⁷ Three possible exceptions are known to me, but in all the artist, if a Greek, was working for a Persian employer. All three are gems in Dr. Arndt's collection, and all are published by von Duhn in *Symbolae Litter. in hon. J. de Petra*, pp. 22 ff. The first is a 14-faceted stone of ordinary Graeco-Persian style with a king in this dress on two facets (von Duhn, Tav. ii. 1 and 4): the second a scaraboid (ib. Fig. 3) on which the king combats two griffins—a Persian subject, the style debatable. The third is the remarkable scaraboid, said to come from Apollonia in Caria, which was published also by Bulle, *Der Schoene Mensch*, ed. 2, p. 665, and is figured in my Plate X, No. 7. The artist of this stone, who was presumably a Greek, seems to have misunderstood the dress. I should not say from the imprint that (as von Duhn supposes) the king is wearing *ἀναγυρίδες* in place of skirts, but the fold between the legs seems misinterpreted (e.g. from such a cylinder as that figured in *Amtl. Ber. K. Kunstsamm.*, 1910, Fig. 91), and the bare hip is inconsistent with Persian

representations, where a belt holds the garment in place.

²⁸ Simple headband (Flandin, ii. 97, 98), humbler version of the king's hat (ib. iii. 157, 164, iv. 178) and, possibly, tiara (ib. iii. 164).

²⁹ This hat looks as though it were derived from Assyria (Ebert, *Reall. d. Vorgesch.* vii. 102 ff.), and that worn in Fig. 3 resembles in effect an Assyrian head-dress of feathers (ib. viii. 329).

³⁰ Her. 7. 61 (below), Serv. *ad Aen.* 7. 247. Schol. Juv. 6. 516. *Κυρβάσια* and *κίδαρς* (or *κίτ-*) seem to be the same: for the first, Her. 5. 49, Dion. Hal. 2. 70, Hesych. *s.v.* *τιάρα*, Erotian, p. 89 (Klein): for the second, Plut. *Mor.* 340 C, *Artax.* 28, Hesych. *s.v.*, *E.M.* pp. 513. 18, 758. 4: for both, Pollux, 7. 58, Schol. Plat. *Rep.* 8. 553 C, V. K. Muller, *Der Polos*, p. 101.

³¹ Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 3. 10, *οἱ ἵππεῖς . . . διεπρόκοτες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διείρουσιν ὅταν ὀρᾷ βασιλεύς*. Ib. 14, *τὰς δὲ χεῖρας (ὁ Κύρος) ἔξω τῶν χειρῶν εἶχε*. In representations of this garment the sleeves are always, I think, out of use. Why they were used in the king's presence is explained by Xen. *Hell.* 2. 1. 8.

³² E.g. the frieze of the temple of Nike, the Xenophantus vase (*Ant. Bosp. Cimm.* Pl. 46), the Satrap and the Alexander Sarcophagi, the Alexander Mosaic.

monial occasions, though less unlike the other's than might be supposed; and his top-boots (or are they gaiters?)³³ conceal—or so I assume—his ἀναξυρίδες. Otherwise the only difference is that the clothes of the one seem to be made of some thick material, perhaps of leather,³⁴ whereas the other's are evidently of thin cloth or linen, and his χιτῶν can therefore be pulled through an invisible belt to make a κόλπος in the Greek fashion. This last particular (which is not invariable on the sarcophagus) I cannot parallel from purely Persian sources,



FIG. 4.—PERSIAN FROM THE ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS. (From Hamdy Bey and Reinach, *Néc. Roy. à Sidon*, Pl. XXXI.)³⁵

but at this date such sources hardly exist, and it is as likely to be a fashion borrowed from Alexander's men as an invention of the Greek artist. The other variations may be seen both in Graeco-Persian gems (Pl. X, 6, 9) and

³³ The details are sometimes hard to make out, but at Persepolis this leg-wear is perhaps invariable with costume II (cf., however, Flandin, iii. 154). Xen. (*Cyr.* 8. 1. 41) says: τὰ ὑποδήματα τοιαῦτα ἔχουσι (οἱ Μηδοὶ) ἐν οἷς μάλιστα λαθεῖν ἔστι καὶ ὑποτιθεμένους τι ὥστε δοκεῖν μείζους εἶναι ἢ εἶσιν. For the spindle-shanked at any rate it had plain advantages.

³⁴ Cf. n. 25 above; Pollux, 7, 58. ὁ δὲ κἀνδύς ὁ μὲν βασιλείος ἀλιπόρφυρος, ὁ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πορφυροῦς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ ἐκ δερμάτων. If Ctesias may be believed (Apollonius, *Mirab.* 20), nobles wore garments of camel's hair.

³⁵ The colours, Winter, *Alexandersark.* Taf. 9.

on the silver statuette in Berlin (Fig. 5), and they offer no obstacle to the belief that the costumes are essentially the same.

Costume II, I conclude therefore, was made in varying materials, and was, at least in later times, the Persian dress familiar to the Greeks. It has also found its place in literature: Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 3. 13, *προϋφαίνεται ὁ Κῦρος ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀρθὴν ἔχων τὴν τιάραν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν μεσόλευκον* (ἄλλω δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστι μεσόλευκον ἔχειν) καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἀναξυρίδας ὑσγίνοβαφεῖς καὶ κἀνδυν ὀλοπόρφυρον: cf. *An.* 1. 5. 8. What Xen. means by μεσόλευκος is shown by the Alexander Mosaic, where Darius III wears the hussar-like flying cloak (κἀνδυσ), and a χιτῶν with a broad white stripe or insertion down the breast.³⁶ This χιτῶν seems to have been called *σάραπις* (Poll. 7. 61, Hesych. and Phot. s.v.; cf. *Athen.* 12. 525 D), and it is no doubt the 'royal apparel of blue and white' which was put on Mordecai (*Esther* 8. 15).

Now Xenophon is, so far as I am aware, the first Greek to show any acquaintance with the κἀνδυσ,³⁷ which, as we have seen, was not an inseparable part of this dress. With the rest of it Greeks had been acquainted for some time before. The Persians and Medes in Xerxes' army wore scaled corslets, which do not appear on Persian monuments,³⁸ and came, if Her. (1. 135) is to be believed, from Egypt; under them they were dressed in costume II minus κἀνδυσ: Her. 7. 61, *Πέρσαι μὲν ὧδε ἐσκευασμένοι· περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον τιάρας καλεομένους πῖλους ἀπαγέας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους, <καὶ θώρηκας> λεπίδος σιδηρέης ὅψιν ἰχθυοειδέος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σκέλεα ἀναξυρίδας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀσπίδων γέρρα· ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶνες ἐκρέμαντο· αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μέγαλα, οἷστοὺς δὲ καλαμίνους, πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρευμένα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης.* Cf. 7. 62.

Here then is a dress which should have been familiar to A.'s contemporaries, and one would expect to meet it on vases of the period. As a matter of fact I do not know it there,³⁹ though there is something very like it. The barbarian warrior in Fig. 6 is dressed in tiara, corslet, χιτῶν, ἀναξυρίδες, and he carries, open and full of arrows, the big quiver or bow-case⁴⁰ seen in Fig. 3 and Pl. X, 10. His bow, hardly discernible in my figure, is in his left hand; in his right, a battle-axe in place of the spear (cf. notes 64 and 65 below). His costume differs only in one particular from that described by Herodotus. His χιτῶν has no sleeves, and his sleeves are of the same material as his trousers—he is wearing, in fact, under his χιτῶν, the harlequin-like costume which is often worn alone by barbarians on fifth-century vases.

The discrepancy between Herodotus and the Persian monuments on the

³⁶ The colours of the Alexander Mosaic or its original may once have agreed with Xen.: the χιτῶν is now a bluish-grey, the κἀνδυσ a faint pink. Darius's ἀναξυρίδες cannot be seen: the man holding a horse in the foreground wears them in a coral red.

³⁷ I do not think it occurs on the frieze of the Nike temple.

³⁸ Some sort of corslet, however, seems to be worn on certain Persian cylinders

(Pl. IX, 2, 4).

³⁹ Or elsewhere in Greek art, except on the pediment of the Alexander Sarcophagus (Winter, Taf. 14).

⁴⁰ If I interpret this object aright, it is both quiver and bow-case, and has a flap which will fasten over the end of the bow when the bow is carried in it, protecting it somewhat as the heads of golf clubs are protected in the more elaborate bags.

one hand and the vases on the other is certainly curious, but the sleeved and sleeveless χιτών occur together as barbarian dress on other vases (e.g. on the Bologna Amazonomachy crater, F.R. Taf. 75, 76), and it seems not unlikely that the sleeveless form may be genuine Persian wear. At any rate there can, I think, be little doubt that the soldier in Fig. 6 is a Persian. And if Persian soldiers appeared in this play, we might take his dress into consideration: but I doubt if they do. The drift of 955 ff. suggests that Xerxes is unattended,



FIG. 5.—SILVER STATUETTE IN BERLIN. (From Herzfeld, Taf. xv.)

and 1017 should not, I think, be held to prove the contrary. Xerxes himself carries a quiver (1020) and might therefore be supposed to be in tattered (835) field-service dress; but, again, the somewhat inopportune fuss which Darius and Atossa make about his clothes (835, 845) suggests that A. has shrunk from so realistic a touch and produced him in royal robes, indicating his recent campaign by the quiver and other symbols.⁴¹ Our corsleted friend on the Berlin amphora only helps us as showing that something resembling costume II

⁴¹ Wilamowitz (*Interpret.* p. 46) judges this passage otherwise.

of the Persian sculptors was known to Athenians at a period not remote from the Persian wars.⁴²

If then at this point we fell back on *a priori* considerations and guessed what civil costume would have seemed suitable for Darius and Xerxes, we should most reasonably, I think, guess costume II, without the corslet and the *κάνδους*, made in rich materials and embroidered (836); we should be in doubt whether to expect sleeves to the *χιτών* or not, and we should add that this costume, though worn by Cyrus in Xenophon and a correct Persian dress, is never worn by the king on Achaemenian monuments.⁴³

A. himself does not help us much. His *τιάρα* is well enough: and by *φάλαρον* (whatever *φάλαρα* means in Homer) he probably means the peak, worn upright by kings, but by none else.⁴⁴ The *εὔμαρις*, since it is worn also by the Phrygian at Eur. *Or.* 1370, is shoe rather than boot; and the bodyguard on the coloured frieze from Susa (Perrot and Chipiez, v. Pl. 12) wears yellow shoes. A.'s data are consistent, so far as they go, with our supposition. There remain, however, three other vases to be taken into consideration.

Or rather there are two; for I shall dismiss at once from this suit the vase which naturally occurs to the mind first in connexion with stage Persians—the Darius crater in Naples (F.R. Taf. 88). This vase is certainly inspired by reminiscences of a play—very possibly a play of Phrynichus: on the other hand, it is Apulian, not Attic, and its date is the latter part of the fourth century, a hundred years and more after the other two. I think we may safely disregard its evidence on costume.⁴⁵

⁴² I will therefore not pursue beyond a footnote the question of the costumes of Persian soldiers on vases. The dress seen in Fig. 6 occurs also on the following: (1) Nolan amphora in New York, Sambon, *Coll. Cincessa*, p. 65. (2) Cup at Orvieto, *Jahrb.* in. Pl. 4. (3) Cup at Oxford, C.V.A., *Oxford*, Pl. VI. 4. On (3) the man so dressed is fighting against hoplites, and his comrade, who carries an immense rectangular shield, wears, over the harlequin costume, not two garments, but one—either a sleeveless *χιτών* or a linen corslet. A second Persian dress, therefore. The shield and the dress each link this man to others. The shield (which suggests the Egyptian *ἀσπίς ποδήρης ξυλίνη* of Xen. *An.* 1. 8. 9, 2. 1. 6) reappears on a skyphos in Berlin (Fig. 9: *Arch. Anz.* 1889, p. 92), where it is carried by a man wearing a tiara, harlequin costume and sleeveless *χιτών* with a dark stripe down the breast (cf. p. 146): his friend on the other side of the vase has been given in addition a wholly un-Persian *ιμάτιον*. The dress, on the other hand, connects him with the barbarians who fight with hoplites on the lost cup, Gerhard, *A.V.* 166. Among men so attired on that cup is one who wears only the harlequin

costume. But here we are on dangerous ground, for this dress is common, and, if Persian, can hardly be exclusively so, since it is worn by people who fight side by side with hoplites (e.g. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, T. 55). On it see Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 512 ff., C.V.A. *Oxford*, text, p. 4, Dickens, *Cat. Acrop. Mus.* p. 139. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 55, Zahn, *Barbaren in Litt. u. Kunst*. It would be interesting to know how the Persians in the fresco of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile were dressed, but the only detail is Persius 3. 53, *bracatis inlita Medis porticus*, which does not help.

⁴³ Sasanian kings wore a similar dress. For Achaemenians see n. 26 above.

⁴⁴ *Ar. Av.* 487, Schol., Xen. *An.* 2. 5. 23; other refs. above, n. 30. Cf. p. 146.

⁴⁵ It contains a very pretty assortment, from the almost perfect Persian dress of the king's bodyguard to the bare humation of his treasurer. The king himself wears a kind of fancy tiara, a sleeved under-garment, sleeveless chiton, himation, and shoes—a costume with Persian elements, but conventionalised by now, and worn by other theatrical royalties.



FIG. 6.—NOLAN AMPHORA (Berlin 2331).



FIG. 7.—OENOCHOE (Vatican, H. 530; from F.R., Taf. 168).

The first of the two remaining vases, Fig. 7, represents three people: a woman, labelled ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ, carrying a curious vessel and wearing ἱμάτιον, χιτῶν and sleeved undergarment—Greek clothes⁴⁶ except that they are surmounted by a tiara and that the sleeve-pattern is faintly Oriental: a man, labelled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, holding a sceptre and wearing what I have called the harlequin costume, a sleeveless χιτῶν, a ἱμάτιον over it, and a tiara—a perfect Oriental, possibly even a perfect Persian, costume ruined by the ἱμάτιον:⁴⁷ another woman dressed much as the first, but nameless and without a vessel. And who are these royalties? Atossa and an attendant at the tomb of Darius, as Buschor suggests (F.R. iii. p. 296)? It is at least difficult to think of any other interpretation.

The second vase, Fig. 8, is a white-ground lecyth in Tübingen which depicts, on either side of a tomb, a woman carrying a drinking horn and wearing a sleeved jacket, of red and white, curiously zigzagged, and a man leaning on a spear or sceptre. The man wears a tiara and a sleeveless red jacket with a broad white stripe down the front (a type we have met before: p. 146 above): arms and legs are obliterated, but enough remains to suggest that he was wearing ἀναξυρίδες, presumably as part of the sleeved harlequin costume. We can complete his costume from a skyphos in Berlin⁴⁸ (Fig. 9), where a Persian wears, over banded 'harlequins,' a spotted, sleeveless χιτῶν with a dark insertion down the breast, or from the similarly attired Persian on a sliced cylinder of Greek workmanship now in New York (Pl. X, 10). The costumes on this lecyth are so unusual that Watzinger (*Vasen in Tüb.* p. 43) supposes it to represent Atossa with Darius, who stands, as a dead Greek might, beside his tomb.⁴⁹

Let us suppose, as indeed I think probable, that in these two vases, both about twenty years later than the *Persae*, the artists had in mind the necromancy scene in the play. What light do they throw on our problem? Not a very clear one, for they do not agree with one another. Still, the women, as we conjectured would be the case, are not dressed in real Persian costume. The oenochoe artist has rigged his out in as stately Greek clothes as he could manage, and has relied for local colour on the tiara—not woman's wear at all so far as we know. The lecyth artist, on the other hand, has clothed his woman in a garment which does really resemble the χιτῶν χειριδωτός of the Persian costume II, though again it is male and not female wear. As to the men, the king on the oenochoe is nondescript, the man on the lecyth wears something not at all unlike what we had guessed on *a priori* grounds Darius would

⁴⁶ On the χιτῶν χειριδωτός in Greece see *Jahrb.* xxxii. p. 60, Pauly-Wissowa iii. 2210.

⁴⁷ Cf. the reverse of the Berlin skyphos, Fig. 9, mentioned above, n. 42.

⁴⁸ I have shown above, n. 42, that this represents a Persian.

⁴⁹ I am indebted to Dr. Watzinger for the photographs of this vase and also for some details supplementing his published

account of it. It should be added that a replica was seen by Buschor in the market (F.R. iii. p. 297), and that a third lecyth, also seen by Buschor and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, represents a woman wearing a red sleeveless jacket with the same zigzag. Her companion is a woman and the scene apparently domestic, though the details and the other dress have perished.

wear—costume II without corslet and without sleeves to the χιτῶν. And as evidence for what, in fact, was worn in the play, though neither vase can be called good authority, I prefer the lecyth to the oenochoe, partly because the oenochoe suggests to me the imagination of a not very imaginative artist, partly because the wear on the lecyth is more nearly accurate Persian: for in 472 B.C. I should suppose the memory of Persian costume sufficiently alive in Athens to impose some degree of realism upon a choregus.⁵⁰



FIG. 8.—LECYTH (Tubingen, E. 67).

One further point seems to emerge from this somewhat inconclusive discussion. Why does A. mention only Darius's hat and shoes? To leave his choregus a free hand? Perhaps; and since it was Perikles, let us believe that he did not stint expense and that Darius was στικτός οἶον ταῶς (Philostr. *Imag.* 2. 31). But I think there was also another reason. There is a great deal about clothes in this play, but with the exception of our passage, the

⁵⁰ If the vases are later than the decree mentioned in *Vit. Aesch.* 12, one, or both, might reflect a revival of the play and not

the original performance; but the general conclusion would still stand.

language is completely vague: ⁵¹ and I think we can guess why. Persian dress is unlike enough to Greek, but its essential garment, the jacket or *χιτών*, differs in cut, in colour, in material, but not in name, from what A. and his audience wore themselves. To name it would be to weaken what A. likes to strengthen—the illusion of a strange foreign fashion. And betwixt head and heel, what else was there for him to mention? ⁵² The *κάνδυς*? But, as we have seen, he probably knew nothing of it. *Ἀναξυρίδες*? But the Greeks thought them ridiculous (Eur. *Cycl.* 182, Ar. *Vesp.* 1087); and, after all, in no age have trousers been a fitting theme for tragedy.

726. ὥς ἰδεῖν τέλος πάρεστιν οἶον ἦνυσεν κακόν

730. πρὸς τὰδ' ὥς Σούσων μὲν ἄστυ πᾶν κερανδρίαν στένει.

In l. 726 *ὥς* is understood to be either limiting (*quantum quidem intelligi potest ex eventu*, Wecklein), or causal (*Ay, for we can see the end*, Sidgwick). In 730 Hermann proposed ὥστε Σουσίδων; Paley, στένειν, which is accepted by some editors. I should be inclined to agree with them in 730, and to conjecture ὥστε myself in 726 but for one fact. *ὥς* = ὥστε followed by the indicative seems not to be an Attic construction, but it is Herodotean (e.g. 2. 135, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὥς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες Ῥοδώπιος τὸ ὄνομα ἐξέμαθον); and Ionicisms of every kind, as Headlam has pointed out (*C.R.* xii. 189, xvi. 57 n.), are so common in the *Persae* that perhaps we should add these two specimens of *ὥς* to the list. They seem to lend each other mutual support, and in 726 A. had a reason for not writing ὥστε, since 725 ends with a ὥστε clause of another nature.

784. 'All of us,' says Darius, 'who have ruled this empire will be found together to have done less harm than Xerxes.' 'By former kings,' said the same monarch on another occasion, 'while they reigned, such was not done as I in this wise, by the grace of Auramazda, have accomplished.' (*Bh.* p. 146.)⁵³

The contrast is ironic, and it would be pleasant to think that it was not accidental. It is, of course, no more than a fancy; but as a fancy it is at least not an impossible one. Darius, in his inscription, straitly enjoins upon its readers the duty of publishing it abroad, and announces that he has himself sent it into all lands; a fragment of a copy of the Babylonian version has been found at Babylon, and there are papyrus fragments of at least two Aramaic translations.⁵⁴ It seems unlikely therefore that Darius's Ionian subjects did

⁵¹ πέπλος 125, 182, 199, 468, 1030, 1060: ἐσθήματα 836, 848: κάλυπτραι 537. Let him add who will 277 πλαγκτοῖς ἐν δειπλάκεσσιν.

⁵² He might, if he had known the word *σίραψ*, have used it here; but there seems no reason for thinking that he did know it.

⁵³ I quote the translation of the Susian version. The Babylonian is mostly obliterated at this point: the Persian is given,

in the translation, a slightly different turn. Prof. R. A. Nicholson, whom I have consulted, kindly informs me that in his opinion there is no material difference and that the general sense of both versions is given correctly by Kossowicz's paraphrase: *res ab anterioribus regibus gestae minime sunt comparandae his quae, deo omnino iuvante, ego perfeci.*

⁵⁴ Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, p. 248.

not receive a version in Greek.⁵⁵ and not ridiculous to suppose that some of them, in the hour of victory, might have remembered it with malice, and told it to A., who has used with similar malice, or so it seems, a story of Darius known to us from Herodotus (H. 5. 105, *Δέσποτα, μέμνεο τῶν Ἀθηναίων*) *Pers.* 824, cf. 285; also perhaps another point from the same story in 231, and an ironical application from the story of Croesus in 865 (cf. *Arist. Rhet.* 3. 5. 4).



FIG. 9.—SKYRHOS (Berlin, 3156).

809.

οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
ἡδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς.

Cf. 749.

A. is no doubt giving the Greek explanation of the disasters which befell Xerxes; his words indeed resemble those of Themistocles (*Her.* 8. 109). But there is no reason to think them inappropriate to Darius, in whose mouth he puts them. The temples which D. claims to have rebuilt (see on 852 ff.) are not thought to have been exclusively for Persian rites (if indeed the Persians had temples at all: *Her.* 1. 130. Moulton, pp. 52, 195), his hieroglyphic inscrip-

⁵⁵ The surprising accuracy of Herodotus's list of the seven conspirators (3. 70), as compared with Ctesias's, is usually and perhaps rightly put down to the excellence of his Persian sources. But if there were

Greek versions of the inscription, this particular piece of information may have been more accessible to a Greek in Ionia than to one at Susa.

tion (p. 134 above) shows him conforming in Egypt to Egyptian beliefs,⁵⁶ and his Greek (*ibid.*) administering a wiggling to Gadatas, who, ἀγνοῶν ἐμῶν προγόνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν νοῦν, has encroached upon the privileges of Apollo's servants (cf. Her. 1. 183, 6. 97).

852 ff. I have touched above upon the possibility that A. may have alluded to the Behistûn inscription, and should add that of course he cannot be supposed to have known the document as a whole (if so, he would have written otherwise of the earlier Persian kings, and of the overthrow of Gaumâta-Mardos-Smerdis); nor is there much else in it which the *Persae* recalls. But when the chorus praise the πολισσονόμος βιοτά (852) of Darius's reign and the easy conquests his prudence achieved without calling him from his own fireside (864), their words might be illustrated from the inscription. 'The temples which Gaumâta, the Magian, had destroyed I restored for the people, and the pasture-lands, and the herds and the dwelling-places, and the houses, which Gaumâta, the Magian, had taken away. I settled the people in their place, (the people of) Persia, and Media, and the other provinces. I restored that which had been taken away, as it was in the days of old' (*Bh.* 13);⁵⁷ and again: 'On this account Auramazda brought me help, and the other gods, (all) that there are, because I was not wicked, nor was I a liar, nor was I a tyrant, neither I nor any of my line. I have ruled according to righteousness' (*ib.* 71). And it is noticeable that in the numerous rebellions whose suppression is recorded in the inscription, the rebel is, in almost all cases, defeated in the field not by Darius himself, but by one of his lieutenants. That A. should, for his own purposes, be reticent about Marathon is natural, and has often been remarked. I do not think, however, that it has been noticed how near he comes to seeing Darius through the king's own spectacles.⁵⁸

But at 867 he dons a pair of purely Hellenic make. Darius has favoured us with three stately surveys of his Empire (*Bh.* 3, W.B. 35, 37), and they could hardly be less like the list which follows in A. 'Den Athenern gibt es ein stolzes Bild ihres Reiches,' says Wilamowitz (*Interpretationen*, p. 47¹), who has drawn the inference that Cypriot towns had joined the Greek alliance after Pausanias's expedition in 478; and I am surprised, where evidence is so scanty, not to find historians referring to the passage for evidence as to the early history of the Delian Confederacy—at least to my unskilled eye it looks like a sketch

⁵⁶ As Cyrus had conformed to Babylonian (Weissbach, *Keilinschriften d. Achameniden*, pp. 3 ff.); cf. *Ezra*, 1. It would no doubt be imprudent to rely on *1 Esdras* for evidence of Darius's attitude.

⁵⁷ Cf. the praise awarded to Gadatas in the Greek inscription for an experiment in acclimatising fruit trees or crops.

⁵⁸ There are resemblances, too, of a general nature, between the earlier chorus (73-92) and some of Darius's inscriptions at Persepolis and in its neighbourhood. W.B. p. 35: Es spricht der König Darius: Dieses Land Persien, welches mir Aura-

mazda verliehen hat, welches schön, menschenreich, rossereich ist—nach dem Willen Auramazdas und meinem, des Königs Darius, zittert es vor keinem Feinde. *ib.* p. 37: Wenn du nun denkst: 'Wie vielfach waren jene Länder, welche der König Darius besass?', so betrachte das Bild (derer) die meinen Thron tragen, dann wirst du sie erkennen. Da wirst du erfahren: des persischen Mannes Lanze ist fernhin gedungen. Da wirst du erfahren: der persische Mann hat fern von Persien Schlachten geschlagen.

of the position, or perhaps the prospects, of the confederacy in 472. Of the places specifically mentioned, Naxos and Tenos had already found their way into the Greek ranks before Plataea, and their names are on the Serpent Column (cf. Her. 8. 46, 82); Andros and Paros had been the object of Themistocles's earliest attentions after Salamis (Her. 8. 111 f.); Samos, Chios and Lesbos were among the first to transfer their allegiance from Sparta to Athens (Plut. *Arist.* 23). All, therefore, may be counted original members. Of the rest, there seems to be no evidence (or no other evidence) that the Cypriot towns ever belonged to the confederacy, and the dates of the accession of Myconos, Lemnos, Icaros, Rhodes and Cnidos appear to be unknown; but there seems nothing improbable in the supposition that the first three joined early, and the Dorian pentapolis may well have anticipated the expedition of Cimon which was presently to enrol their Carian neighbours.

As to the districts, Thrace had been liberated by Cimon (the pile-built villages of Lake Prasias⁵⁹ are, on any hypothesis, mentioned here rather for their picturesqueness than for their importance), and Athens had already Hellespontine and Ionian allies at the siege of Sestos (Thuc. 1. 89). And, finally, the districts in which A. orders his survey—Thrace; Hellespont, Propontis, Bosphorus; the Islands; Ionia—are the same as the *Ἰωνικός*, *Ἑλλησπόντιος*, *ἐπὶ Θράκης*, *Νησιωτικός φόρος* by which, with the addition for some years of the *Καρικός*, the quota lists are ordered from 443 onward. I am aware, however, both that the Icarian towns are included in the *Ἰωνικός φόρος*, not the *Νησιωτικός*, and that Busolt regards this classification of allies as of later date.⁶⁰

952.

νυχίαν πλάκα κερσάμενος
δυσδαίμονά τ' ἄκτάν.

Νυχίαν is interpreted by the scholia *στυγνήν*, and that meaning seems more appropriate than Pauw's *μυχίαν*, but neither *Ag.* 459 *ἀκοῦσαι τι νυκτρεφές*, nor *Eur. Med.* 211 *νύχιον ἄλα* (where *ν.* may mean 'by night' or, at any rate, literally 'gloomy'), goes very far to support it. Machon's *μοῖρα νύχιος* (*Athen.* 8. 341 D) is perhaps nearer, but I should be more inclined to quote Plut. *Mor.* 369 E, *οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσιν, ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρης ὁ μάγος . . . οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὠρομάζην, τὸν δὲ Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσεπαφάνετο τὸν μὲν εἰκέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δὲ ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ*, with the account of the sunless sacrifice to Hades and *σκότος* which follows. Moulton (p. 128) connects this with Amestris's sacrifice, *τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ* (Her. 7. 114. Plut. *Mor.* 171 D), and though he regards Plutarch's account as referring to beliefs of a later date, yet admits the existence of a god of darkness in the pre-Zoroastrian religion of Iran. If so, *νύχιος* and *δυσδαίμων* may have been much more nearly synonymous to a Persian than they were to a Greek.

⁵⁹ I should accept at 870 Wilamowitz's *ἐπαύλεις*. The passage has been used as evidence that A. was at Eion with Cimon (*Rhein. Mus.* 29. 48).

⁶⁰ *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 1. 74¹, arguing

against Kirchhoff's article (*Hermes*, xi. 1 ff.), from which I have borrowed some references. See also Köhler, *Zur Gesch. d. delisch-Ath. Bundes* (*Abh. k. Preuss. Ak.* 1869).

1020.

τόνδε τ' οἰστοδέγμονα . . .
θησαυρόν βελέεσσι.

As I have already said (p. 147), I suspect Xerxes's quiver, which is somewhat surprisingly mentioned here, to be the symbol of his return from war. It would be natural to think it suggested by the enormous quiver carried on the back (Pl. IX, 3. 5. 8), which is so conspicuous in Persian sculpture. This, however, is always, I think, associated with costume I, and as I do not know any representation of it in Greek art, perhaps we should think rather of the equally conspicuous combination of quiver and bowcase (Figs. 3 and 6, Pl. X, 10), which is associated, though less exclusively, with costume II.⁶¹ However that may be, the quiver is a symbol also of the bankruptcy of Persian arms, for A. throughout the play represents the war as a contest of bow against spear (86, 147, 239, 926). And on that subject there is a comment to make.

From a Greek point of view no doubt the characteristic element in Persian fighting was the preliminary fusillade, and to the Persians the hoplite advance at Marathon, unsupported by cavalry or archers, appeared to be sheer lunacy (Her. 6. 112). The bow is certainly in a sense the Persian national weapon (Her. 1. 136), and, as such, is sometimes held by the king on formal occasions, as in Fig. 2, Pl. IX, 3.⁶² Nevertheless, on Persian monuments it seldom appears alone except as a hunting weapon (cf. Pl. IX, 1. X, 9). On the early darics and sigli the king has a strung bow in his left hand; in his right, commonly a spear (Pl. IX, 6), less commonly a broad dagger (Pl. IX, 7).⁶³ His soldiers usually carry the bow in a bowcase, or, strung, on the left shoulder, and the round-butt Persian spear in their hands. But it is the spear, not the bow, which the Persians themselves at this date regarded as their battle-winning weapon. 'Observe,' says Darius in the one inscription in which he names the arm of his troops (n. 58 above), 'observe the captives who support my throne, and you shall know how far the Persian's spear has reached.'⁶⁴ And where a Persian, the king or another, is depicted in combat with his enemies, the spear is his regular weapon. I figure some Persian and Graeco-Persian representations of Persians fighting with Greeks (Fig. 10, Pl. IX, 2, Pl. X, 7, 8);⁶⁵ and in

⁶¹ This may be an accident. It is sometimes, as in Fig. 3, seen with costume I, but archers in this dress usually carry the bow strung; see below. The other form of quiver mentioned above seems to be an enlarged version of the Assyrian.

⁶² So also at Behistūn, but there another bow and a spear are carried by attendants.

⁶³ A later type (Pl. IX, 8), known only in silver, but no doubt used for darics (since gold fractions exist), shows him without a spear discharging an arrow; cf. the scaraboid, Menant, *Glypt. Orient.* ii. Pl. IX, 8. Any of these darics might be the *τοφόροι* of Agesilaus's jest (Plut. *Ages.* 15, *Artax.* 20), though the name fits this last type best. On the dating of the daric

types see B.M.Cat.: *Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia*, p. cxxxiv.

⁶⁴ Cyrus, in Xenophon, is contemptuous of missiles and equips his picked troops with short sword or battle-axe (*Cyr.* 2. 1. 9 ff., 3. 3. 57 ff., 6. 3. 24 ff.). On the Alexander Mosaic Darius III is in a chariot and carries a bow and no spear; and this may be historical, for at Issus and Arbela his bow and shield were captured (Arrian, *An.* 2. 11. 6, 3. 15. 5).

⁶⁵ On Pl. X, 7 see n. 27 above. The others, with some rougher specimens, were put together by Furtwaengler, *Ant. Gemm.* vol. iii. p. 121: add W. Hayes Ward, *Seal Cyl. of W. Asia*, No. 1055. Observe that in Pl. IX, 2 the artist has equipped his hoplite

these scenes the bow, I think, appears only twice. A Graeco-Persian scaraboid in the Louvre (Furtwaengler, *Ant. Gemm.* xii. 18) shows a Persian horseman shooting at a Greek, and on the fine cylinder from Kerch in the Hermitage (Fig. 10) ⁶⁶ the king, who is using his spear, carries a bow in his left hand as on darics. In scenes where the opponents are not Greeks I know only two traces of the bow, and both exhibit its secondary place. On the first (Pl. IX, 4) a Persian with a sword overcomes an enemy armed with an axe, but both

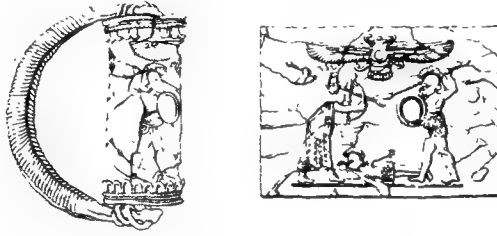


FIG. 10. CYLINDER FROM KERCH. (From *Ant. Bosp. Comm.* Pl. 16, 2 and 3.)

are supported by archers. On the second (Pl. IX, 5) the king is twice engaged and in both cases uses the spear; but he has previously pinked one of his opponents in the kneecap with an arrow—a compendious representation of Persian tactics.

A. S. F. Gow.

KEY TO PLATES IX AND X.

Pl. IX:

Persian Cylinders. (All chalcedony.)

1. B.M. 6. Cyl. of Darius I: inser. in Old Persian, New Elamite (Susian) and Babylonian, 'I am Darius the (great) king.'
2. B.M. 178. Cf. n. 65.
3. Bibl. Nat. 401. Cf. p. 140.
4. Bibl. Nat. 403. Cf. n. 65.
5. B.M., Dalton 114.

Persian Coins. (B.M. specimens.)

- 6 and 7. Darics.
8. Siglos.

with round-budded Persian spears. The object seen behind the heads of the Persians in Pl. IX, 2 and 4 seems to be an axe like that carried by the enemy on the latter cylinder; cf. Fig. 6. On Pl. X. 7 the king's spear is hardly discernible, though it is plain enough on the imprint. He holds it in both hands and is driving it

into his enemy's abdomen. The Persian on Pl. X, 8 is not quite clear (sharper imprint, *Ant. Gemm.* xi. 9): he wears, I think, costume II, with the boots of Fig. 3 and perhaps a corslet.

⁶⁶ I regret that in spite of the kind offices of Dr. Waldhauer I have been unable to obtain an imprint of this important cylinder.

Pl. X :

Graeco-Persian Gems.

1. New York inv. 25. 78. 98 : chalcedony scaraboid. Cf. p. 137.
2. Berlin 181 : rock-crystal scaraboid.
3. B.M. 433 : chalcedony scaraboid.
4. B.M. 434 : sard scaraboid.
- 5 and 6. B.M. 436 : pink quartz.
7. Arndt Coll. : onyx scaraboid. Cf. n. 27.
8. Leipzig, Städtl. Bibl. : six-facettèd chalcedony. Cf. n. 65.
9. Oxford : chalcedony scaraboid.

Greek Gem.

10. New York inv. 25. 78. 100 : banded agate cut cylinder.
(Nos. 1 and 10 formerly Wyndham Cook Coll., 59 and 58).

SOME MORE FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC TREASURE-RECORDS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

THE following five inscribed fragments of Pentelic marble, which I have recognised as belonging to the series of Attic Treasure-records of the fifth century B.C., have lain for many years among the unpublished inscriptions from the Acropolis in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens.¹ This series of records, as regards the objects dedicated in the 'Pronaos,' the 'Hekatompedon' and the 'Parthenon,' has been studied and restored in minute detail as far as is permitted by the existing pieces, and the results are now conveniently collected in *I.G. I.*², Nos. 248-92 *b*. For the first twenty years our information is fairly complete, but from 414/13 onwards the lists are much more fragmentary, particularly for the Parthenon-Treasures. The five pieces published here unfortunately take us only a little way towards establishing completer texts for any year: two belong to the Pronaos-records, the rest to those of the Hekatompedon, Nos. 1 and 2 to the years 433/2 and 411/10 of the former series, and Nos. 3, 4 and 5 to the years 427/6, 412/11 and 411/10 of the Hekatompedon-lists, respectively.

It will perhaps simplify reference to show in tabular form which stelai are preserved, in whole or in part, and which are totally lost from the lists of these two groups, from their beginning in 434/3 down to 407/6, when the objects in the Pronaos, with the single exception of a golden crown, were handed over by the treasurers concerned (*Ἡοὶ ταμίαι τῶν ἡιερόν χρεμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας*) to the Hellenotamiai, and the Pronaos-records naturally come to an end.²

Year.	Pronaos.	Stele.	Hekatompedon.	Stele.
434/3 to 431/0	<i>I.G. I.</i> ² , 232-235	I.	<i>I.</i> ² , 256-259	I.
430/29 to 427/6	" " 236-239	II.	" 260-263	I.
426/5 to 423/2	" " 240-243	III. (obv.)	" (lost)	(II.)
422/1 to 419/18	(lost)	(IV.)	" 264-267	III. (obv.)
418/17 to 415/14	" " 244-247	V.	" 268-271	III. (rev.)
414/13	" " 248	III. (rev.)	" 272	IV.
413/12	" " 249	"	" 273	"
412/11	" " 250	"	" (lost)	"
411/10 (a)	" " 251-252	"	"	"
411/10 (b) ³	" " 253	"	"	"
410/9	(lost)	(VI.)	" 274	V.
409/8	" " "	"	" 274	"
408/7	" " 254	VII.	" (lost)	(VI.)
407/6	" " 255	"	" 275	VI.

¹ I wish to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. B. Leonardos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum, in permitting me to study and publish these fragments.

² *I.G. I.*², 255, ll. 26-29.

³ The Board appointed under the rule of the 400, holding office for four months, accounts for there being two boards of *ταμίαι* in the year 411/10.

1. (E.M. 5397 = Acrop. frag. No. 641.) Small fragment, broken on all sides. H. .125; br. .044; th. .07. Letters .009–.011; intervals *ca.* .009 (three lines *plus* two spaces occupy .048).

The vacant space after l. 4, which is .028 high, equals the height of a line of text *plus* the intervals above and below it, and thus gives us our first clue to the position of the fragment. If it represents a completely blank line it must presumably mark the transition from one year's record to the next, the heading of the following year being contained in ll. 5 and 6. On the other hand, as it may belong to a line only partly left blank, this might be accounted for if l. 5 began with the rubric referring to the additions made in the year concerned, *Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶν hoīs . . . ἐγραμμάτευσ.* etc. Between these alternatives choice was indefinite until the remains of ll. 1–4 had been recognised.

Σ
Ν

FIG. 1.

The next clue to follow was *υπο* in l. 4; this might be possibly part of the name of the father of the Secretary, who held office in the first year, *Κράτες Ναύπονος Λαμπτρεύς*, but more likely part of some word compounded with the preposition *ὑπό*. Coming just above a gap it could not be connected with Naupon's name except in an entry headed *Ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο ἐπὶ τῶν ταμιῶν hoīs Κράτες Ναύπονος Λαμπτρεύς ἐγραμμάτευσ* - -: and of the three records (Pronaos, Hekatompedon and Parthenon) for this year (434/3), the father's name is left out from the first two, and the *ἐπέτεια* of this year in the Parthenon occupy several lines, so that there could be no blank space in the line following that containing his name. Of words beginning *ὑπο*, the noun *ὑποδερίς* is unknown in fifth-century records of Athenian Treasures, though it occurs at Eleusis (*I.G.* I.², 313, ll. 16, 54, etc.), but *ὑπόχαλκος* and *ὑπόχσυλος* both seemed possible. But further search showed that the former word is not found until the fourth-century lists at Athens (*I.G.* II.², ii. 1396, ll. 13, 15, 17, etc.), and the latter only in the Parthenon-lists, where there are four items which include this epithet in their description, namely, the 10th, 11th, 13th and 17th objects, *καὶ ὑποχσύλο καταχρύσο ||, θυμιατέριον ὑπόχσυλον κατάχρυσον. κοίτε ὑπόχσυλος κατάχρυσος* and *ἀσπίδες ἐπὶ χρυσοῖ ὑπόχσυλοι Δ||*; two more similar shields are added in the second record, I.², 277, l. 34. Here indeed *ὑποχσύλο* falls in the last line, but it was soon seen that the letters ΣΑΡ of our third line cannot fall into the previous line of this year of the Parthenon-records. As the other instances of the epithet all occur several lines from the end, even of the earliest record, it was now plain that this could not be from any Parthenon-list, and that the word *ὑπόχσυλος* (?) by itself took us no further.

Convinced that it might somehow prove to belong to the Pronaos-records, and that ΣΑΡ might be the remains of [λύχνο]ς ἀρ[γυρὸς], which is the fifth item in that series, I found that I was at length on the right track, and that l. 2 must read [σταθμὸν τούτον], and form part of the third item, *κέρατα ἀργυρᾶ |||, σταθμὸν τούτον* ΠΔΔΓΓΓ, and finally that the αἰ in l. 1 must belong to one or other of the words *φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ*, forming the second item.

These entries proved to fall into their correct positions with a line of 53 letters' length, which is that of some of the lines in the first two Pronaos-lists (I.², 232, 233), which range from 48 to 53 letters, though they are strictly *στοιχηδόν*, whereas the third and fourth years of this Penteteris are written in lines 66 letters long. It was seen, moreover, that the remains of the entry *λύχνος ἀργυρὸς* are preserved, though the *ΞΑΡ* are illegible, in I.², 232, so that our piece must belong to 233. A gap of about 15 letters separates it from the right-hand edge of fragment (c), but there is no room left for doubt that its position is correctly found. Between lines 14 and 15 of the larger fragment, which is unfortunately very much worn down (from subsequent use as a step, to judge by its appearance), comes an interval corresponding in height to that after l. 4 of the new piece, and ll. 5-6 of the latter prove, in fact, to form part of the entry of that year's accessions. The *Ξ* is the last letter of the name of the Secretary, *Εὐθίας*, and is the 38th letter of the line. Below it is apparently Ν, which is also in the proper place for the ν of *[τούτοι]ν*.

It is worth while setting out the transcript of this text from l. 5 onwards, incorporating the new fragment, before turning to consider the problem offered by *[h]νπό[χσυλος (?)]* in l. 4. The division of the lines in the new *Corpus* is not quite satisfactory, and it is possible to reproduce more correctly what is visible on the worn fragment (c).⁴

- I.². 233, l. 5. *[hoῖς Κράτες] Ναύπο[νος Λαμπτ]ρ[εὺς ἐγγραμμάτευε, ἐν τῷ πρόνειοι • φι -]*
[άλε χρυσὲ ἔχ]ς ἡ[ε]ς ἀπορ]ρ[αίν]ο[νται, ἄσταθμος· φιάλ]αι
[ἀργυρᾶ ΗΔ|||],
[σταθμὸν τού]το[ν κ]έρατα [ἀργυρᾶ |||, σταθμ]όν
π[ούτον ΠΔΔΠΤΤΤ·]
[ποτέρια ἀργυρᾶ |||, στα]θμὸν [τούτον ΗΠΤΤ (?)· λύχ]νο[ς
ἀρ]γυρὸς, σταθμὸν]
[τούτο ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ·]ον μικ[ρὸν]
h]νπό[χσυλον].
 l. 10. *(νικαί ?)*
[Ἐπέτεια ἐπ]εγ[ένετο ἐπὶ] τῶν τα[μιδν hoῖς Εὐθίας] Ἀ[να-
φλύστιος]⁵
[ἐγγραμμάτε]νε, [φιάλα] ἀργυρᾶ ||, [σταθμὸν τούτοι]ν [- - - -]

The transcript in l. 6 (= l. 19 of the stele) is incorrect in the *Corpus*, for it gives the number of *φιάλαι* as ΗΔ|| (112) instead of ΗΔ||| (113), and makes the line contain 55 letters, by inserting *στα-* after the figure: whereas by carrying the whole word *σταθμὸν* over into the next line we retain the correct number of letters, and verify that the Τ which is the eleventh letter on the stone is in fact the second τ in *τούτον*, and not part of the weight, as was

⁴ The restorations for the numbers of the *φιάλαι* in I.², 232, 233 and 234, proposed in my paper in *J.H.S.* 1911, pp. 31 ff., have not been fully accepted in the transcript in the new edition, though they are certainly

correct.

⁵ To insert the name of the Secretary's father *Αἰσχρονος* would make the line consist of 58 letters.

hitherto thought; and thereby get rid of the inconsistency involved by the weight being represented as ΜΠ - - (= 10500 ÷) in the previous year, but by Τ - - here. This change is confirmed by the fact that traces of Ο are faintly visible on the stone after the Τ. The result is that for this weight we have five spaces in all, not eight beginning with Τ; but the gap cannot be filled with certainty, as there are too many possible alternatives which would fit it.⁶ Nor can we fill confidently the space in the following line for the three ποτέρια, though our choice seems limited to ΗΤΤΤ, ΗΠΤΤ or ΗΔΤΤ, seeing that four weigh 142 drs. (I.², 236. l. 7), and that elsewhere in these lists the newly added drinking-cups weigh from 25 to 35 drs. I restore conjecturally ΗΠΤΤ (107).

The transcript of ll. 8-9 must also be amended, for to attain our 53 letters for the line, σταθμόν must be put in l. 8, giving us in l. 9 τούτο ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ, followed by our intriguing entry as shown in the revised transcript, ογμικ[ρόν ἡ]υπό[χσυλον]. The *Corpus* is again at fault, for in addition to beginning the line with the μον of σταθμόν, it continues τούτο ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ ποτέρι]ο[ν ἀργυρὸν ἐν . . (17) . . κατάχρυσον].⁷ But the second ο in ποτέριον is the 20th letter of the line, which necessitates our postulating a gap of one letter after the weight of the previous item, unparalleled elsewhere on this stele, or else substituting a word longer by one letter for ποτέριον. More serious is the neglect of perfectly legible letters which follow. These are correctly shown in the facsimile in the first edition (*I.G.* I., 118) as ΜΙ, separated from the Ο by a single space, and rendering the restoration [ποτέρι]ο[ν ἀργυρὸν - - -] quite out of the question. Moreover, after the *iota* comes an upright stroke, which is set to the left of the centre of the space, and of the letters which could have stood here only κ seems possible. As to the letter before the Μ, I thought I could detect a faint indication of Ν, and certainly, if anything is to be recognised at all, it does not look like ξ. So far, then, we seem to have established ογμικ[ρόν - -] instead of the silver ποτέριον, which previous editors had taken as an addition of the year 431/3 (I.², 232), apparently entered separately in years two and three, and added to the pre-existing three ποτέρια in the fourth year (I.², 235), which conclusion seemed to be confirmed by the fragment which I added to that list many years ago.⁸

We must now see if the other records for this Penteteris help to clear up the problem. In the first year we have / \ | as letters 22-24 of the last line and traces of ΧΡ as the 39th and 40th letters, the latter restored no doubt correctly as [κατά]χρ[υσον]. The evidence for the third year takes us a little further, with ΡΟΝΕΝ as letters 12-17, and then after 17 more spaces, [κ]ατάχρυ[σ]ον, thus justifying the restoration in the first list. Year 4 does not help, as our item is not entered separately. Setting out what has survived

⁶ As 104 φάλαι weigh over 10,500 drs. in I.², 232, l. 7, 113 may be expected to weigh not less than 11,400. The lowest number which can occupy these five spaces is ΜΧΠΤΤ (11,502), and the highest

probably is ΜΧΠΗΗ (11,700). Including these two, there are 13 possible sums which might have stood here.

⁷ As corrected in the *Addenda*, p. 303.

⁸ *J.H.S.* 1911, p. 31, l.

from the three entries relating to this object, and completing the words which are certain, we shall see on what lines a restoration might be possible :

	10 ↑	20 ↑	30 ↑	40 ↑	
I. ² , 232,			/ \ 		κατάχρυσον.
„ 233,	ογκικρόν		h υ π ό χ σ υ λ ο ν		
„ 234,	υρον ἐν				κατάχρυσον.

The missing 11 letters at the beginning of the third of these entries are restored [ποτέριον ἀργ]υρὸν, etc., but if we wish to equate it with the entry of the previous year, the position of the O makes only two spaces available for the ἀργ of ἀργυρὸν. Now the letter before the rho on the left of the fragment may have been κ, not γ, as only the upper oblique stroke is shown on the facsimile. Verification is unluckily impossible, as the piece is not to be found in the Epigraphical Museum, but I am strongly tempted to believe that the reading was κ, and that we have [μ]ικρόν ἐν, preceded by a word of nine letters, as in the previous year. A neuter word, in view of κατάχρυσον, is required, and I would restore καρχέσιον, and, combining the indications from the three records, propose to read [καρχέσι]ον μικρόν ἐν *ὑπόχουλον κατάχρυσον*. It also becomes clear that the faint remains of letters 22-24 in the first list come immediately before *ὑπόχουλον*, and may conceal the dative governed by ἐν. If we could be certain of the ἐν we might restore e.g. ἐν κιβότοι, though this agrees but poorly with the traces / \ | as given in the facsimile, and, moreover, the diminutive κιβότιον is more probable.⁹ I cannot supply a likely word ending in ΑΔΙ, ΔΑΙ, *vel sim*.

There seems nothing improbable in this description of a καρχέσιον when we recall the θυμιατήριον ὑπόχουλον κατάχρυσον mentioned above among the objects in the Parthenon proper, but we meet with difficulties when we try to trace it in later records than the three in which I have restored it. We have seen that the restoration of the items in the last year of this Penteteris leaves no room for it, and two alternative explanations, neither very probable, suggest themselves. We may suppose either that this object was removed from the Pronaos after the third year's list was drawn up, or that, though it was previously described as καρχέσιον μικρόν, etc., it was entered in the fourth year and subsequently as a ποτέριον ἀργυρὸν, which seems far from likely, and is rendered still more unlikely by the assumption thus involved, that it was weighed, and equalled the average weight, approximately, of a silver ποτέριον. If we reject this second alternative, we are left with an equally real difficulty, namely, that the third list has three silver cups, and the fourth has four, though the addition of the requisite fourth cup is apparently not stated among the accessions at the end of the third year. But it must be noted that the last line of I.², 234 is incomplete, and only contains 32 letters as it stands, namely, the last three letters of ἐγραμμάτ | ενε followed by φιάλαι

⁹ For κιβότος, cf. I.², 330, ll. 1, 2, among furniture confiscated and sold by the Poletai, and once as a votive offering at Eleusis, *ibid.*, 313, l. 143. The traces on

the stone here suggest rather . . . εδε, but I cannot complete the word; and before κιβότοι we should have expected ΕΓ not ΕΝ.

ἀργυρᾶι ||| σταθμὸν | τούτ[ον - -]. As the line could have contained 66 letters we have a right to assume that it might have been full, which would give us 34 more to supply. Within this limit it is possible to insert the words ποτέριον ἀργυρὸν σταθμὸν τούτο, leaving seven spaces for the weights of the preceding three φιάλαι and of the new ποτέριον. If the three φιάλαι weighed each 100 drs. we would have four spaces for the weight of the ποτέριον; and when we recall that with its addition we have the weight of 142 drs. for the four and that 107 was one of the three possible alternatives for the weight of the three prior to its accession, it is almost irresistible to fill in the weight as ΔΔΔΓ, and restore the weight of the three φιάλαι as ΗΗΗ, as suggested above.

This is a slender chain of evidence, and owing to the fragmentary condition of the stele concerned, it is incapable of verification. If by any lucky chance another piece of it came to light, much of this argument would be rendered superfluous, but I venture to think that the restorations proposed would be confirmed in all essentials.

The conclusions based on our new fragment, directly and indirectly, justify a revised transcript of the contents of the stele for the first three years, beginning with l. 5 of the first stele, as follows:

- 232, ll. 5 ff. [ἐγραμμάτεψε, παρέ]δοσαν τοῖς [τα]μίαις τοῖς Εὐθείας Ἀνα-
 φλύστιος]
 [ἐγραμμάτεψε, ἐν τ]ῷ πρόνειο[ι · φιάλ]ε χρυσῆ, ἐχς ἡῆς ἀ[πορ-
 ραίνονται],
 [ἄσταθμος· φιάλαι ἀ]ργυρ[αῖ Η|||, σταθ]μὸν τούτον Μ^Π[.
 κέρατα]
 [ἀργυρᾶ |||, σταθμὸν τούτον ΠΔΔΠΤΤΤ· πο]τέρια ἀργυρ[ᾶ |||,
 σταθμὸν]
 [τούτον ΗΠΤΤ (?)· λύχνο]ς ἀργυρὸς, [σταθμὸν το]ύτο
 ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ[Τ·]
 (vacat.)
 [Ἐπέτεια ἐγένετο ¹⁰ ἐπὶ τῶν] ταμ[ιῶν τοῖς Κράτε]ς Λαμπτ[ρεὺς]
 [ἐγραμμάτεψε, φιάλαι ἀργ]υρα[ῖ Π|||, σταθμὸν] τούτο[ν
](?)
 [καρχέσιον μικρὸν ἐν]ι [ἡυπόχουλον κατὰ] χρ[υσον·]
 233, ll. 7 ff. [σταθμὸν τού]το[ν κ]έρατα [ἀργυρᾶ |||, σταθμ]ὸν
 τ[ούτον ΠΔΔΠΤΤΤ·]
 [ποτέρια ἀργυρᾶ |||, στα]θμὸν [τούτον ΗΠΤΤ (?)· λύχνο]ς
 ἀργυρὸς, σταθμὸν]
 [τούτο ΔΔΔΠΤΤΤ· καρχέσι]ον μικ[ρὸν ἐν ι
 ἡ]υπό[χουλον κατὰ] χρυ-
 [σον·] (vacat.)

¹⁰ Ἐγένετο for ἐπεγένετο seems a likely slip, and the simplest way of accounting for the omission of two letters, indicated by the position of ΤΑΜ as letters 21-23

in this line. The insertion of the Ἐπ of Ἐπέτεια at the end of the previous line, as adopted in *I.G.* I., 117, seems most improbable.

[Ἐπέτεια ἐπ]εγ[ένετο ἐπὶ] τῶν τα[μῶν] *hois Euthia*ς Ἀ[να-
 φλύστιος]
 [ἐγραμμάτε]νε, [φιάλα] ἀργυρᾶ ||, [σταθμὸν] τούτοι]ν [- - -]
 234, ll. 5 ff. [χρυσέ, ἐ]χς *hēs* ἀπ[ο]ρρα[ί]νονται, ἀσταθμ[ος]· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ
 ΗΔΓ, σταθμ[ὸν] τούτο]ν [.]
 [. κέρα]τα ἀργυρᾶ |||, σταθμὸν τ[ούτον] ΠΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ·
 ποτέρια ἀργ]υρᾶ ||| σταθμὸν τ-
 [ούτον ΗΠΓΓΓ (?)· λύ]χνος ἀργυρῶς, [στ]αθμὸν τ[ούτο]
 ΔΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ· καρχέσιον μ[ικρὸν] ἐν [. ι h-]
 [υπό]χσυλον κ[ατά]χρυ[σ]ον. (*vacat.*)
 [Ἐπέτεια ἐπ]εγ[ένετο ἐπὶ] τῶν ταμῶν *hois*ς Ἀπολλόδορος Κριτίο
 Ἀφιδναῖος ἐγραμμάτ]-
 [ενε, φιάλαι] ἀργυραῖ |||, σταθμὸν τούτ[ον] ΗΗΗ (?)· ποτέριον
 ἀργυρῶν, σταθμὸν τούτο ΔΔΔΓ (?)·]

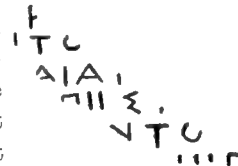
2. (E.M. 5411 = Acrop. frag. No. 615.) Small fragment, broken obliquely; incomplete on all sides, but with remains on r. of sawn edge, which cannot be original. The inscribed face measures .105 by .022; th. .13. Letters, of rather irregular size, .0075–.009, not *στοιχηδόν*.

The attribution of this fragment to the Pronaos-records is made certain by the presence of Γ|| followed by στ[αθμὸν] - - in l. 4. The same sequence occurs once, it is true, in the Hekatompèdon-records, where the weight of item No. 11 ends with ΔΓ||, followed by στέφανος, but the restoration of the other letters surviving on our fragment cannot be made to fit with the known Hekatompèdon-entries. Since, moreover, it is not engraved *στοιχηδόν*, it can only come from one of the latest years in the series. The list of entries must accordingly have been a long one, for by the year 415/14 there were already 29 different items in the lists of the Pronaos-treasures, and by 413/12 two more had accrued.

Now the number Γ|| is found three times, on each occasion referring to φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ (items Nos. 6, 11 and 14) in all lists later than 424/3, and experiment showed that only by restoring this figure as belonging to item No. 11 could the earlier and later entries be completed satisfactorily. We find that the letters αἰὰρ in l. 3 prove to belong to the entry [φιάλ]αι ἀρ[γυραῖ] |||| (item No. 9), which gives us a line of about 76 letters. As it provides us with no fresh information as to the contents of the Pronaos, it is not worth while to transcribe in full the restoration of this piece; but I hope to show below what was its approximate position in the stele to which it belongs.

The items represented on the stone are to be restored as follows:

- (4) [ποτέρια ἀργυρ]ῆ[α] Γ, σταθμὸν τούτον ΗΠΔΓΓΓΓΓ. (5) 32 spaces.
 (6) [φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ] Γ||, σταθμὸν τούτον ΠΗΗ. (7) 33 spaces. (8) 27 spaces.
 (9) [φιάλ]αι ἀρ[γυραῖ] ||||, σταθμὸν τούτον ΗΗΗΔΔΓΓΓΓΓ. (10) 31 spaces.
 (11) [φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ] Γ||, στ[αθμὸν] τούτον ΠΗΗΗΗΔΔ. (12) 34



spaces. (13) [ποτέριον ἀργυρόν, σταθμόν] γ τοῦτο ΔΔΔΔ]. (14) 38 spaces. (15) [φιάλαι ἀργυραὶ ΙΙΙ, σταθμόν τούτον] ΗΗϞ[Γ], etc.

The only stele to which this could possibly belong, seeing that it is required to contain about 76 letters per line, not engraved *στοιχηδόν*, is that containing *I.G. I.². 253*, now in Athens. The upper part of the same stele is in the British Museum, which acquired it with the rest of the Elgin marbles, and contains the records of 414/13, 413/12, 412/11, and a few letters from the first two lines of the fourth year's record (*I.². 248–251 = B.M. Inscr. I. 26*);¹¹ the first three records are engraved *στοιχηδόν*, with about 74–76 letters per line as a rule, but the heading of the fourth year, in smaller letters more closely spaced, commences with a line restored as 90 letters in length. The whole of the item-list is lost, except for a few letters from the last line, which appear at the head of the portion in Athens. This stele then consists of five years' records, an exceptional arrangement due to the situation created by the revolution of the Four Hundred in the year 411, for a new list was drawn up when they took control of affairs, two months before the end of the year 412/11, and after the end of their four months' rule another inventory was taken and duly engraved, which is thus the fifth on the stele.¹² The normal heading to the first year's record, *Τάδε παρέδσαν hai τέτταρες ἀρχαί*, etc., was allowed to stand unaltered, although actually there were five annual Boards, not four, in this Penteteris. The first three years' lists being written *στοιχηδόν* must be ruled out of account, and when we come to examine the final record, *I.². 253*, we find that some of the letters on our fragment appear there already, and observe, moreover, that the spacing is slightly different. We are thus left with *I.². 252* as the only possible record from which our fragment can have come. This cannot be verified by a join, either above or below, as too much is lost (at least two lines above, and five complete lines below), but the appearance of the right-hand edge supplies almost convincing proof that it is rightly attributed here, for the edge of the stele on which is *I.². 253* has a cut exactly similar to that found on our fragment. In each case the edge exhibits a saw-cut, not quite perpendicular to the surface of the stone, about five centimetres deep, below which the edge is fractured (and probably roughly hammer-dressed). The fact that the British Museum portion of the stele is also cut through at about the same distance from the original edge indicates that this cutting took place before the breakage across the original stele.

This mutilation has removed about 34 letters from the r. edge of the upper portion, and about 28–31 from the lower, and it will not be misleading to suggest that about 30 letters are lost from the right of line 6 of our new piece. This would make the last symbol Ϟ fall into place as the 46th of the line, and the position will be apparently in ll. 2–7 of the list of items. Whether the heading was contained in two lines or ran over into three is uncertain, as the exceptional circumstances of its engraving may have required the use of an exceptional formula. We saw above that this heading, in at any rate its

¹¹ On the other face is *B.M. Inscr. I. 25* (= *I.G. I.². 240–243*, the *traditiones* of 426/5–423.2 B.C.).

¹² Cf. *I.G. I.²*, note *ad loc.*, following Bannier, *Rhein. Mus.* 1915, p. 405.

first line, runs to 90 letters, in contrast to the average of 76 alike in the earlier records and in our fragment as restored. I can only suppose that after this heading the engraver returned to the normal number of letters for his list of items. Less easy to account for, if we may assume that our fragment is correctly placed, is the position of the surviving letters ἀργυρί[s], στα[θμόν] τ[αύτες - -] at the head of the Athens stone. The α when located in relation to the text of the ensuing record proves to be about the 30th letter of the line, and there can be no doubt that this is the last entry of the year; whereas on setting out the restoration of the whole text from the end of item No. 15, with which our fragment closes, we find that items 16 to 30 inclusive require about 456 spaces, i.e. a few letters more than six lines averaging 75 letters: in other words, that the 31st item ἀργυρίς ought to begin with about the 52nd letter of the line, not the 30th. Absolute accuracy in this calculation cannot be looked for as the text is not στοιχηδόν, but the variation due to this cause cannot have accounted for an entry moving from its expected place on the stone by as much as 22 letters—if the engraver has made no mistake.

In fact the only remedy seems to lie in emendation with the effect of shortening the text by some 22 letters. It is on the whole easier to suppose that an item is omitted than that, on this occasion only, two items of the same type were grouped together, but appear as separate entries in the previous and subsequent lists. Now item No. 22 consists appropriately enough of 22 letters, ἀργυρίς, σταθμόν ταύτες ΠΔ, and might have been omitted if the engraver confused himself over the similar item weighing ΗΔΗ in the line before (item No. 20). Or just possibly he might have grouped these two together, writing ἀργυρίδε ||, σταθμόν τούτοις ΗΠΔΗΗ, giving us 29 letters in place of the 46 occupied by the items separately.¹³ It is plain that the first alternative brings us almost exactly to the required result, and is therefore more satisfactory than the other. If it is accepted, we may be quite confident that our fragment has been rightly placed; and the impossibility of placing it elsewhere makes this, the more reasonable emendation, practically a certainty.

The three pieces which I have identified as belonging to the *Traditiones* of the Hekatompedon are as follows: all are engraved στοιχηδόν.

3. (E.M. 4486.) Small fragment, broken on all sides. H. .082; br. .058; th. .07. Letters .009.¹⁴

The restoration of these fragmentary entries is quite straightforward:—l. 1, - - ρι φιά[λαι]; l. 2, - - ρς ἀπο[ρραν-τέριον - -]; l. 3, [στρέ]φανος[s - -]; l. 4, [σταθμόν τού]τον Π.; l. 5, [σ]ταθ[μόν - -]. The presence of the ἀπορραντέριον coming directly below that of certain φιάλαι in l. 1 is a feature distinctive of the

) | Φ | .
) Ξ Α Π Σ
 Φ Α Ν Σ
 Τ Ο Ν Π;
 Τ Δ Ο
 FIG. 3.

¹³ I assume that the entry ran ἀργυρίς, σταθμόν ταύτες ΗΔΗ, not, as in I.², 253, ἀργυρίς μία, σταθμόν, etc., i.e. 24, not 27 letters.

¹⁴ When this article was completed, I learned from Professor A. B. West, of the

University of Cincinnati, that he had also studied this fragment and found its proper attribution. I am much indebted to him for withdrawing his claim to publish it on hearing that I had reached the same result.

Hekatompodon-lists, where the latter are in fact the first item in each year's record. This enables us to recognise - - οι as the end of the phrase [ἐν τοῦ νεοῦ τοῦ ἡεκατομπέδ]οι; next, by restoring from the other lists of this series the number and weight of these φιάλαι, and continuing with the normal second item [κόρε χρυσὲ ἐπὶ στέλες ἄσταθμ]ος, we find that a line of 64 letters brings the ος exactly below the οι in l. 1. The completion of the missing items offers no difficulty, but to account satisfactorily for the precise position, in relation to each other, of the surviving letters, we seem to require 63 letters in ll. 2 and 4, and 66 in l. 3, assuming, as I think we may, that the figures |||, representing the number of φιάλαι in ll. 1 and 4 respectively, occupy two spaces each. Such variations in the length of the line in στοιχηδόν inscriptions are quite common, especially in these *Traditiones*, and we shall find more instances in the following fragments.

The placing of our fragment in its correct position in the series is almost as easy as its restoration. Only one of the *stelai* which have survived, in whole or in part, proves to have a line of the length required, namely, *I.G.* I.², 260-263, the record of the years 430/29 to 427/26. This record is engraved on the same stele as that of the preceding Penteteris (*I.*², 256-259), as I was able to show many years ago,¹⁵ but the earlier record contains 67 letters per line. In the period indicated, only the last year (427/26) is available for placing our fragment, for in the previous year the objects beginning with the golden crown held by the Nike are added as ἐπέτεια, accessions of the year in question. The scanty remains of the introductory formula show us that the word ἐγραμμάτευε is divided between ll. 4 and 5, and thus the letters in l. 1 of our fragment come as Nos. 30-34 in l. 5. The Ε, which alone remains legible on the published portion, in l. 4 is the 41st letter; our new piece accordingly comes just to the left of this, at the lower corner of the fragment denoted (b) in *I.G.* I. 150. There is no certain join, but it seems plain that the fractured edge on the r. of our fragment represents the same vertical split which is recognisable throughout the upper portion of the stele.¹⁶

How much is lost after the last item on our piece is quite uncertain, and thus we cannot tell if there were any accessions this year. Moreover, the whole of the record for the next Penteteris is lost, and when we come to that for the year 422/21 (*I.G.* I.², 264), the number of items, including the three accessions of that year, has swollen to fourteen. The new fragment enables us to transcribe *I.*², 263, the record of 427/26, as far as it goes, as follows:

[Τάδε ἡοι ταμίαι τὸν ἱερὸν χρεμάτων τῆς Ἀθηνάας [Χαρ]μαντ[ίδες Παι-
ανιεύς κα | ἰ χυνάρχοντες, τοῖς Εὐβόλος Φιλογείτον]ος Ἀχαρν[εύς] ἐγρ[αμμάτευε,
παρέδοσα | ν τοῖς ταμίαισιν, τοῖς Κεφισοφὸν Κεφισοδόρο ἡέρ]με[ιος] ἐγρα-
μ[μάτευε, παραδεχσ | ἀμενοι παρὰ τὸν προτέρων ταμίδν, τοῖς Μεγακλῆς Μ]ε[γα-
κλέος Ἀλοπεκειεύς ἐγρα || μμάτευε, ἐν τοῦ νεοῦ τοῦ ἡεκατομπέδ]οι· φιά[λαι
5 χρυσᾶι |||, σταθμὸν τούτον ΧΧ^ΠΔΔΔ | ΔΤΤΤΤ· κόρε χρυσὲ ἐπὶ στέλες, ἄσταθ-
μ]ος· ἀπο[ρραυτέρειον ἀργυρὸν ἄσταθμον· στεφ | ἀνο χρυσὸ ||, σταθμὸν τούτουν
ΠΔΔΔ· στέ]φανος χρυσὸς ἡὸν ἡε Νίκε ἔχει, σταθμὸν τούτο | ΠΔΔ· φιάλαι

¹⁵ *J.H.S.* 1911, pp. 37 f.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 39, *in il.*

ἀργυρῶν Π|||, σταθμὸν τοῦτον ΠΗ[ΗΗ· καρχέσιον ἀργυρῶν, σταθμὸν τοῦτ | ο
 ΗΗ· καρχέσιον ἀργυρῶν Διὸς Πολιῶς, σ]ταθ[μὸν τοῦτο ΗΗ]· etc.

4. (E.M. 6791 = Acrop. frag. No. 1313.) Tall narrow fragment, broken on all sides and unworked at back. H. .27; br. (average) .035; th. .185–.19. Letters .0085–.0095; seven lines occupy *ca.* .097.

5. (E.M. 6792 = Acrop. frag. No. 670.) Similar fragment, also unworked at back. H. .22; br. (average) .055; th. *ca.* .185. Letters .007–.008; seven lines occupy *ca.* .087.

Ν Ι Λ
 Ν Α Ι
 Α Μ
 Τ Ο ·
 5 Μ Ο ·
 Δ Ξ ·
 Α Ρ
 Ο Υ ·
 Ρ Υ
 10 Χ Ρ ,
 Δ Δ Τ ,
 Ο Ν Τ
 Γ Δ Ο ·
 Γ Α Υ ·
 15 Γ Δ Ο
 Ε Ν Α
 Α Ι Ξ
 Α

FIG. 4.

Ο
 Ν Γ ,
 Ο Ν Α ,
 5 Ξ Χ Ρ ,
 Δ Γ Τ Τ Τ
 Δ Δ Δ Δ Ι
 Ο Μ Ο Ν ·
 Ρ Υ Ξ Ο :
 10 Ο Μ Ο Ν ·
 Ξ Ε Ξ Τ /
 Ξ Α Μ Ε
 Ξ

FIG. 5.

The identification of No. 4 as part of one of the Hekatompedon-records was suggested primarily by its general resemblance to No. 5, both in the surface of the marble and the lines of the fractures; and there is a strong similarity in the type of script in the two pieces, in spite of the fact that the letters and intervals are both smaller in No. 5. My restoration of No. 5 was almost completely worked out before I took No. 4 in hand.

The presence of the letters ΝΑΙ in l. 2 and of ΕΝΑ in l. 16 of No. 4, with the groups ΝΑ placed vertically below one another, pointed the way to the restoration *Ἀθελίας* in each case; and, moreover, this identity of position was most likely to occur in a formula beginning with a fresh line. The only recurrent formula in which the Goddess's name appears is that introducing the second, third and fourth year's record of each Penteteris, *Τάδε μοι ταμίαι τὸν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθελίας - - - καὶ χουνάρχοντες, τοῖς - - - ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδοσαν τοῖς ταμίαισιν*¹⁷ - - - etc. This indicated how

¹⁷ Until 419/18; after that year *ταμίαις*.

many letters were missing on the left from this fragment, but did not immediately give us the clue to the original number of letters per line.

There was no difficulty in assigning No. 5 to one of the Hekatompedon-*traditiones*, for (1) in the Pronaos-lists only one golden object is recorded (item No. 7, a golden crown, weighing $33\frac{1}{2}$ drachmae), whereas our entries include gold in ll. 5, 9 and 12 (where we must restore [- - χρυσέ, σταθμὸν - -]); and (2) the figures $\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta$ in l. 7 of No. 5 do not occur in either the weight or number of any item in the Parthenon-lists. As, however, they do occur in the Hekatompedon-lists as part of the weight of item 17 (among others), which is an ἀργυρίς, weighing $\text{H}^{\text{IV}}\Delta\Delta\Delta\Delta\text{H}^{\text{I}}$, and as the figures $\Delta\Gamma\text{H}^{\text{I}}$ in the previous line might form part of the weight of item 14 (a χρυσός, weighing 138 drs. 2 obols), it was easy to work out the restoration of most of the items in No. 5 in a way that gave a line with ca. 85 letters. A similar experiment with No. 4 proved to give the same result, and indicated as probable that both belonged to the same stele. The difference in the size and spacing of the letters forbade their being combined into the record of one year, a conclusion which would have been forced upon one independently by the discovery that the figures $\Delta\Delta\text{H}^{\text{I}}$ in l. 11 of No. 4 related to the same ἀργυρίς as those in l. 7 of No. 5. Whether these records can be assigned to successive years will be considered later.

We must first try to find the stele to which our fragments belong. No. 4 can only come from a stele on which it formed the record for the second or third year of some Penteteris, for the remains of l. 1 must belong to a previous year's list, and the presence of ll. 16-18 shows that it cannot have ended a Penteteris at l. 15; and the last two lines of No. 5 are separated by a gap from the remainder, suggesting that here also we have two years' records to account for. We can only hope to combine them in a stele with ca. 85 letters per line, and belonging to a date not very early in the series, for the number of entries in No. 4 is such that item No. 17 is followed by the remains of four more lines of entries in both fragments. As we have already seen that item 14 was the last addition of the year 422/21 (*I.G.* I.², 264), and as the lists for the period 422/21-415/14 are contained on an opisthographous stone in the British Museum, with a thickness of only $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches (= .139 m.), we must look elsewhere in order to place our fragments. Since, moreover, the two pieces which survive from the final Penteteris (*I.*², 274, 275) are not στοιχηδόν, and as the former contains peculiarities of expression relating to some of the items, which are so different from the normal entries that exact restoration is impossible, we cannot place our fragments there either. This leaves us with the much mutilated stele *I.*², 272, 273, containing the remains of the first two years of the period 414/13 to 411/10. This stele proves to suit all our requirements, for the restoration of *I.*², 272 works out with 84-87 letters per line, στοιχηδόν; the extreme right-hand edge of the stone is damaged by weathering, but this does not affect the substantial accuracy of the restorations as given in *I.G.* I.².

The record for the second year, represented by the remains of the first three lines only, close to the r. edge of the stele, is wrongly shown in the transcript in *I.*², 273 as containing 93 letters per line. This repeats an error of the first edition (*I.G.* I. 152), in which the transcription makes an unjustifi-

able departure from the accurate evidence of the facsimile. The surviving letters of I.² 273 are, in fact, exactly *στοιχηδόν* below those on I.² 272, and the stele must have contained, therefore, *ca.* 85 letters per line in its second year also. In order to compress into 250 spaces (85 each for ll. 1 and 2, and 80 for l. 3, five spaces being left after the word *ἄσταθμος*), the three opening lines shown in *I.G.* I.² 273 as comprising $93 + 93 + 80 = 266$ letters, it is necessary to omit, in the first place, the name (*Σοστράτο*) of the father of the incoming Secretary, and about eight other letters. The first omission may be paralleled in I.², 271, l. 3, the record of the last year of the previous Penteteris, though the father's name is duly recorded in the *Traditiones* of the Pronaos and Parthenon for these years; but the omission of eight more letters in the introductory formula I can find no clue to follow, and must content myself with the unsatisfactory suggestion that the engraver wrote *ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ* instead of *ἐν τῷ νεδί τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ*, and further compressed the figures ||| for the golden *φιάλαι* into one space instead of using two. It can only be said in favour of these suggestions that any other remedy would be even more violent. The revised version of ll. 1-3 of this inscription will thus run as follows: [*Τάδε ἡοι ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Πολυχσενίδες Ἀχαρνέως καὶ χουνάρχων*] *τες* *ἡοῖς* *Λε[υκα]ῖος Κομάρχο Ἀφιδναῖος ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδωσαν τοῖς ταμίαις ἡοῖς Αὐτοκλείδης Φρεάρριος*] *ἐγραμμάτ[ευε]* |, *ἐν τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ· φιάλαι χρυσαῖ |||, σταθμόν τούτον* ΧΧΠΔΔΔΔΤΤΤΤ· *κόρε χρυσῇ ἐπὶ στέλες, ἄσ[ταθμ]ος· ἀπορ[αντέριον -], etc.* It will be seen at once that ll. 2-4 of our fragment No. 4 cannot be combined with this preamble, since our stone shows the letters ΑΜ below the ΝΑ of Ἀθηναίας, whereas the ΞΑ of *παρέδωσαν* must have occupied the corresponding spaces in the record of the year 413/12. We must therefore conclude that the whole list of items recorded in this year is lost, after the *κόρε χρυσῇ* at the end of l. 3, except for the three letters at the top of our fragment No. 4. These seem to be the remains of the phrase *σταθμόν τούτο, vel sim.*, and are too indeterminate to delay us further.

Turning now to the restoration of the main body of our text, we may restore the name of the head-Treasurer from the Pronaos-records of this and the previous year (I.², 249 and 250) as *Κάλλισχος Εὐπυρίδης*, and with the normal heading *Τάδε ἡοι ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας Κ. Ε. καὶ χουνάρχοντες ἡοῖς Αὐτοκ[λείδης Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτευε]* this gives us a line of 85 letters followed by 26 letters in l. 2. It, however, leaves us only space for nine letters before *[τ]αμ[ίαις]*, of which the position is fixed by its relation to the position of *[Ἀθ]ε[ν]αί[ας]* in l. 1, as beginning with the 26th letter; and as we require *παρέδωσαν* we must omit the *τοῖς*. The name and deme of the incoming head-Treasurer and of the Secretary can also be supplied from I.², 250, l. 3, which is based on the evidence of I.², 298 c, ll. 5-10, as *Ἀσοποδόροι Κυδαθенаῖ καὶ χουνάρχοσιν ἡοῖς Εὐάνδρος Ἐριθαλίονος Εὐονυμεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε*, which brings us to the end of letter 34 of l. 3, and shows that the ΤΟΙ in l. 4 of the stone must belong to the phrase *[ἐν] τῷ [νεδί τῷ ἑκατομπέδῳ]*.

From here to l. 13 the restorations offer no difficulty, if we follow the

With these fuller indications we may go a stage further, with the aid of an examination of I.², 272. The last 13 letters of the penultimate line, together with the 80 letters of the last, give us 93 letters, exactly our average for three

entries of crowns; and as the word *στέφανος* comes exactly at the beginning of this group, we may safely infer that it is the 27th item of this year's record. As, moreover, we know that the final item weighed 724 drs. (ΠΗΗΔΔΗΗΗ, nine spaces),¹⁸ the other entries must have had weights correspondingly shorter than the average suggested above. We know also from our fifth fragment that the last entry but one was *στεφάνε χρυσῆ*, which, followed by *σταθμὸν ταύτες*, occupies 25 spaces, and that the first thirteen spaces of the line must have been occupied by *ς, σταθμὸν τοῦτο*, belonging to item No. 27. Assuming that the final entry was *στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμὸν τοῦτο* ΠΗΗΔΔΗΗΗ (= 35 spaces), we thus account for $13 + 25 + 35 = 73$ spaces, leaving only seven (for the line had but 80) for the two weights of items 27 and 28. This argument, if applied to our fragment No. 4, will enable us to fit our last three items into 93 spaces if we make the last two lines each consist of 85 letters; and it leaves us 36 to fill in after the *ταύτες* in item No. 25, of which the position is fixed. It may be provisionally suggested that the weight of No. 25 was five spaces long, and was followed by a normal entry for another crown (No. 26), *στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμὸν τοῦτο* When, however, we try to work backwards from No. 25 we find ourselves in difficulties. The word *τοῦτο* in item No. 23 is fixed as ending with the 46th letter of l. 13, and item No. 25, if rightly restored as *στεφάνε χρυσῆ*, begins with the 17th letter of the following line. If our line in fragment No. 4 was 86 letters in length, we should have to supply 40 letters in l. 13 and 16 in l. 14, making 56. Now of these 56, 33 are required for item No. 24, of which the length, as we have seen above, is known from I.², 272, and we should have 23 left for the weight of No. 23, and for some other entry or phrase. On reference to fragment No. 5, we find that with a line of the same length we obtain here only 54 spaces. But 86 letters is the maximum length of line, and as we cannot exceed this we must infer that in No. 4 the line was shorter by two letters, and thus that there are 54 (at most) to supply in each, namely 21 in addition to the 33 occupied by item No. 24. We could only make guesses alike at the weight of No. 23 and the restoration of the other letters, so they had best be left blank. In my restoration of No. 4 below I have conjectured five spaces for the weight of No. 23, thus making the line end after the eight spaces required for the weight of No. 24, and leaving 16 blank for the unexplained phrase at the beginning of the next line. If we assume the same arrangement in No. 5, of which the position is admittedly less certain, the line-division comes after the eleventh of these sixteen spaces. Into this space it is impossible to insert another item of the Treasure, as there is no such space in I.², 272 if the remaining gaps are filled by restoring on the lines of these fragments. The missing letters must, like the unexplained entry after item No. 3, refer either to the condition or to the donor of the object which precedes it.

With l. 16 of fragment No. 4 we come to the heading of the record of the next year, and note that the *αἰς* of *ταμίαις* in l. 17 come below the *ενα* of

¹⁸ An even larger weight, involving the restoration of X before Π (= 1724 drs.) seems unlikely; if it should nevertheless

have stood here, it would leave us only six spaces for the other two weights in this line.

Ἀθελίας, whereas in ll. 2-3 the letters *ταμ* occupy the corresponding position. Assuming that l. 16 is of the same length as l. 2 (85 letters), we should expect, if the formulae were identical, that the entry of the names of the Treasurer and Secretary concerned was shorter by four letters than in the previous year. But we must restore from *I.G. I.²*, 288, l. 3 the names *Ἀσοπόδορος Κυδαθηναιεύς* and *Εὐανδρος Εὐονυμεύς*, which total 39 letters as opposed to 40 in the previous year, where we require only 36. It seems most unlikely that l. 1 can have held 88 letters, which would make it longer by two than any of the others on the stele—and indeed there would not be room for so many unless the *στοιχηδόν* arrangement were broken for this one occasion. The restoration also involves the omission of the *τοῖς* from before *ταμίαις*, as in the previous year (l. 3). Here I cannot see how to heal the corruption: I hesitate to remove the *χ* and the aspirate respectively from *χυνάρχοντες* and *hoῖς*, for in the Pronaos-record of this year they are retained, nor was it likely that the Secretary's demotic was omitted. Perhaps the least unlikely solution would be to suppose that for once *παρέδοσαν* followed *ταμίαις*, which would enable us to replace the *τοῖς* before it, and to cut down the previous line to 83 letters, dividing the Secretary's name thus: *Ε|ὐανδρος*. Since we do not know the demotic of the incoming *ταμίαις*, *Ἀμεινιάδες*, nor even the name of his Secretary, we cannot test the space available; it might even prove insufficient to allow us to place *παρέδοσαν* after *ταμίαις*, and compel the substitution of some even less obvious way out of the difficulty. But I restore it provisionally.

In the last line of No. 4 the 37th letter is *α* apparently preceded by *κ*, which can only, I think, be restored [*ἐν τοῖ νεοῖ τοῖ ηε*]κα[τομπέδοι]. Before it must have come *ἐγγραμμάτευε*, leaving us with ten spaces vacant at the beginning of the line.

We may now turn to the restoration of fragment No. 5, which, as we have seen, contains lines of the same average length as No. 4. Its letters are slightly smaller and more closely spaced, and ten lines occupy almost exactly the same space as nine on No. 4. In the last two lines of the latter, however, the letters seem to be appreciably smaller, and this may well mark the transition to the size used in No. 5, if, in fact, they belong to successive years. That this is so seems almost certain, in view of the heading appearing in the last line but one of No. 5, separated by a conspicuously wide interval from the remains of the last entry. It can hardly, owing to this feature of its position, have belonged to some summary dealing with the record preceding it, even if we had any reason to expect such a thing at this date. I will return to its possible restoration below, when we have considered the evidence for placing the fragment in relation to the original breadth of the stele.

In l. 1 the remains of *ομ* or *θμ* prove to belong to the word [*ᾶστα*]θμ[ος] at the end of item No. 2 (*κόρε χρυσὴ ἐπὶ στέλες, ᾶσταθμος*), and if we read straight on from the end of fragment No. 4 after [*ηε*]κα[τομπέδοι], we find that item No. 1 will complete the line, down to the 83rd letter. If the second item began after this, only three letters could have come in this line, so that the last *ς* of *ᾶσταθμος* will fall as the 26th letter of the new line, if it began with the item in full; or as 23rd, 24th, or 25th according to the number of

letters of *κόρε* inserted into the previous one. This seems as close as we can hope to get to placing the fragment, as the letters of the new heading do not give a convincing clue.¹⁹ The restoration of the other items follows exactly that in the other fragment, with the exception that l. 2 is impossibly long, and to remove four letters I have suggested omitting *ἔχει* after *Νίκε* in item No. 5; and in the last line of the items, as we have seen above, the letters *χρυσὲ σταθμὸν* belong to the 28th entry. As its place is nearer the left-hand edge of the stele than the previous fragment, there need be no doubt that there was room for item No. 29 on the same line.

For the last two lines, of which the first gives us only *ΞΑΜΕ* as approximately the 21st to 24th of the line (or at earliest 18th to 21st), two restorations are possible, either [*παρὰδεχ[σάμε[νοι παρὰ τὸν προτέρων ταμιδὸν]*, etc., or]*ς Ἀμε[ινιάδες* - -, restoring the name of the head-Treasurer of the preceding year. If our reasons for placing this fragment, in relation to No. 4, are cogent, we have to rule out the possibility of the name of Ameiniades occurring in the ordinary formula for the beginning of a year's record. The restoration [*Τάδε ἡοι ταμίαι τὸν ἡερὸν χρημάτων τὲς Ἀθηναία]* *ς Ἀμε[ινιάδες* - -] would bring the *Α* to the 42nd place in the line, for we must assume that this heading would have begun on a fresh line, whereas this letter, falling under the second *α* of *ἄσταθμος* in l. 1, would be either 20th, 21st, 22nd or 23rd, according to the alternatives suggested above. The depth of the vacant space above this line, which measures .034 m., is more than sufficient for two lines, but inadequate for three, and that below is more than enough for one line. Seeing that no interval was left on fragment No. 4 before the new headings in ll. 2 and 16, we may reasonably suggest that this vacant space was left for the insertion of some elaborate heading, but left incomplete as regards ll. 1 and 2. It does not seem impossible that the stone-cutter after leaving two blank lines should have begun l. 3 with *ἐγγραμμάτετε, παρὰδεχσάμενοι παρὰ*, followed by the names of the outgoing Treasurer and Secretary, which would be taken from the previous record. I cannot, on the other hand, supply a likely restoration for the line with about 20 letters, ending in *ς*, followed by *Ἀμεινιάδες*. Nor can I by any means account for the solitary *sigma* in the last line.

It remains to add that there is no reason, arising out of the way in which these two pieces have fractured, to doubt that their relative positions in the original stele may have been as I have tried to place them. It would not be impossible, admittedly, to place No. 5 so that we might restore the ordinary opening formula in the last line but one, with the *Α* of Ameiniades's name as the 42nd letter, but the general direction of the fracture did not point to the likelihood of the first of the two pieces having been almost vertically above the other, which this would have involved. And the argument from the continuity of the contents seems to rule this out convincingly.

In conclusion, I append a transcript, restored as fully as possible, of the lists as established on the evidence of these two fragments.

¹⁹ In my restoration below I make the multiplicity of queries.
new line commence with *κόρε*, to avoid a

(413-12.) No. 4, l. 1 = *I.G.* I.², 273, *ad fin.* [στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμόν]ν
 τῷ[το ϩΗΗΔΔΗΗΗ .] (*vacat.*)

(412-11.) [Τάδε ἡοι ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθ[ῆ]ναι[ας] Κάλλαισχος
 Εὐπυρίδες καὶ χουνάρχοντες, τοῖς Αὐτοκ-] (85)

[λείδες Φρεάρριος ἐγραμμάτευε, παρέδωσαν τ]αμ[ίαις] Ἀσοποδόροι
 Κυδαθηναιεῖ καὶ χουνάρχοισιν, τοῖς Εὐανδ-] (86)

[ρος Ἐριθαλίονος Εὐονυμεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐν] τῷ [νεδί τῷ
 ἑκατομπέδοι· φιάλαι χρυσαῖ |||, σταθμόν τούτ-] (83)

l. 5. [ον ΧΧϩΔΔΔΔΗΗΗ· κόρε χρυσῆ ἐπὶ στέλες, ἄσταθ]μοις· [ἀπορ-
 ραντέριον ἀργυρῶν, ἄσταθμον, τ - - - (18 spaces) - - -] (86)

[. στέφανο χρυσὸ ||, σταθμόν τούτοις ϩΔΔΔ· στέ-
 φανος χρυσός ἦν ἡε Νίκε ἔχει, σταθμόν τούτο ϩΔΔ·
 φιάλαι] (85)

[ἀργυραῖ ϩ|||, σταθμόν τούτον ϩΗΗΗ· καρχέσιον] ἀρ[γυρῶν,
 σταθμόν τούτο ΗΗ· καρχέσιον ἀργυρῶν Διὸς Πολιδος,] (83)

[σταθμόν τούτο ΗΗ· στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμόν τ]ούτ[ο . . .
 ΗΗ||· στεφάνε χρυσῆ, σταθμόν ταύτες ϩΔΗΗ· στέφανοι] (85)

[χρυσοῖ |||, σταθμόν τούτον ΗΔΔΔϩ||· στέφανος χ]ρυ[σός, σταθμόν
 τούτο ΔϩΗΗ||· χρυσίδε ||, σταθμόν τούτοις ΗΗϩΔ] (86)

l. 10. [ΔΔΔΗΗ||· χρυσίς, σταθμόν ταύτες ΗΔΔΔϩΗΗ||· χρυ[σίς,
 σταθμόν ταύτες ΗΔϩΗΗΗ· στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμόν] (83)

[τούτο ΔΔϩΗΗ||· ἀργυρίς, σταθμόν ταύτες ΗϩΔΔΔ]ΔΔΗ· [θυμι-
 ατέριον ἀργυρῶν, σταθμόν τούτο Χ· στέφανος χρυσός,] (84)

[σταθμόν τούτο ΧΗΗϩ· στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμ]ὸν τ[ούτο . . . ϩ·
 στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμόν τούτο ΔΔΔϩ· στέφανο χρυ-] (86)

[σῶ,²⁰ σταθμόν τούτοις ϩΗΗ· στέφανος χρυσός, σ]ταθμ[ὸν τούτο
 (?)· στεφάνε χρυσῆ, σταθμόν ταύτες] (84)

[. στέφανε χρυσῆ, σταθμόν] ταύ[τες] (?)·
 στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμόν τούτο στέφανος] (85)

l. 15. [χρυσός, σταθμόν τούτο (?)· στέφανε χρυσῆ, σ]ταθμ[ὸν
 ταύτες (?)· στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμόν τούτο
 ϩΗΗΔΔΗΗΗ .] (85)

411/10. (A) [Τάδε ἡοι ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθ]ενα[ίας] Ἀσοπό-
 δος Κυδαθηναιεὺς καὶ χουνάρχοντες, τοῖς Ε-] (83?)

[ῥαιδρος Εὐονυμεὺς ἐγραμμάτευε, τοῖς ταμί]αις [παρέδωσαν Ἀμει-
 νιάδει - - καὶ χουνάρχοισιν τοῖς - -] (?)

No. 4 ends. [. ἐγραμμάτευε, ἐν τῷ νεδί τῷ ἡε]κα[τομπέδοι·
 φιάλαι χρυσαῖ |||, σταθμόν τούτον ΧΧϩΔΔΔΔΗΗΗ·] (83?)

No. 5, l. 1. [κόρε χρυσῆ ἐπὶ στέλες, ἄστα]θμ[ος· ἀπορραντέριον ἀργυρῶν,
 ἄσταθμον, τ - - - (24 spaces) - - - στεφ-] (83)

[άνο χρυσὸ ||, σταθμόν τούτοις ϩΔ[ΔΔ· στέφανος χρυσός ἦν
 ἡε Νίκε, σταθμόν τούτο ϩΔΔ· φιάλαι ἀργυραῖ ϩ|||,
 στα-] (84)

[θμόν τούτον ϩΗΗΗ· καρχέσι]ον ἀ[ργυρῶν, σταθμόν τούτο ΗΗ·
 καρχέσιον ἀργυρῶν Διὸς Πολιδος, σταθμόν τούτο ΗΗ·] (84)

²⁰ There seems no room for the figures || which we should have expected here.

- [στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμὸν] τ[ό]υτο . . . ΗΗ||· στεφάνε χρυσέ,
σταθμὸν ταύτες [ΔΗΗ· στέφανοι χρυσοὶ |||, σταθμ-] (84)
1. 5. [ὄν τούτον ΗΔΔΔΠ||· στέφαν]ος χρυ[σός, σταθμὸν τούτο
ΔΠΗΗ||· χρυσίδε ||, σταθμὸν τούτοις ΗΗ[ΔΔΔΔΗΗ||·
χρυ-] (84)
- [σίς, σταθμὸν ταύτες ΗΔΔ]ΔΠΗΗ[||· χρυσίς, σταθμὸν ταύτες
ΗΔΠΗΗ· στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμὸν τούτο ΔΔΠΗ||·
ἀρ-] (85)
- [γυρίς, σταθμὸν ταύτες Η^Ε]ΔΔΔΔΗ[· θυμιατήριον ἀργυρὸν,
σταθμὸν τούτο Χ· στέφανος χρυσός, σταθμὸν τούτο Χ-] (84)
- [ΗΗ[· στέφανος χρυσός, στα]θμὸν τ[ούτο . . .]· στέφανος
χρυσός, σταθμὸν τούτο ΔΔΔΠ· στεφάνο χρυσό ||, σταθ-
μὸν] (83)
- [τούτοις [ΗΗ· στέφανος χρ]υσός, [σταθμὸν τούτο (?)·
στεφάνε χρυσέ, σταθμὸν ταύτες
. . . .] (86)
1. 10. [. στεφάνε χρυσέ, στα]θμὸν τ[αύτες (?)·
στεφάνος χρυσός, σταθμὸν τούτο στεφάνος χρυσός,
σταθμὸν-] (86)
- [ν τούτο (?)· στεφάνε χρυ]σέ, στα[θμὸν ταύτες . . . (?)·
στεφάνος χρυσός, σταθμὸν τούτο [ΗΗΔΔΗΗ .] (73)
- 411/10. (B) (two lines vacant)
- [(?) ἐγραμμάτενε, παραδεχ]σάμε[νοι παρὰ - - -]
- (one line vacant)
- [- - - 23 spaces - - σ - - - -.]

A. M. WOODWARD.

ANCIENT SCULPTURED MARBLES AT BIGNOR PARK, SUSSEX.

THE five stones here described and illustrated I found, along with a few other carved pieces, at Bignor Park, Sussex, in November, 1926, built into the walls of a garden house by the late owner, Mr. Johnstone. They were almost certainly brought over to England by Mr. John Hawkins, who travelled extensively in the East, Greece, and Italy, and afterwards, settling down at Bignor Park in 1806, lived there till his death in 1841. Incidentally, he had an important share with Samuel Lysons in excavating the Roman villa at Bignor between 1811 and 1819. I have failed to find any printed record of these stones, except of No. 3, and think that their belated publication may be of



FIG. 1, No. 1.

interest. The present owner, Lt.-Col. the Hon. Clive Bigham, has given me every facility for photographing, and making squeezes, casts, and rubbings of the inscriptions. In order to preserve the stones, he has had a wall specially built overlooking a garden, with a seat below; and in this wall they are effectively arranged.

No. 1. Dimensions $27\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 16 in. A funerary relief, carved in high relief and representing a family feast. There are eight human figures, four arranged on either side of the centre, with a horse's head showing in the right top corner. Two families are represented. The two fathers are reclining at the table, on which are loaves and a bowl, and under which a dog is curled up. To the left are: father on a canopied seat, wife seated at lower level, behind her a daughter standing and holding a lighted torch, and behind her a boy, nude. At the extreme left is a cupboard, standing on which are vessels; and hanging on the wall is a lyre. Behind the other father is a shield hung on the

wall; on his right, on the same level, is seated his wife, and next is a daughter, also seated, and holding a wine cup. Next is a male figure standing, and over him appears the horse's head, probably signifying that the head of this family is of knightly rank. Over the head of the right reclining figure is a snake.

No. 2. Dimensions 27 in. \times 17 in. at the cornice, and 18 in. at the base. The monument is in three divisions—a pediment, a slab ornamented with three pateras and a Greek inscription, and three sculptured figures.



FIG. 2, No. 2.

The inscription, which does not appear in the photograph, but which was made plain by a rubbing and a squeeze, is :

ΑΓΑΘΕΙΑ	ΒΡΙΘΩΝ
ΚΑΛΑΜΥΟΔΑ	ΚΑΛΑΜΥΟΙΔΑ

In the panel, left, a lady is seated facing right and holding out her arm to clasp the hand of her husband, who stands facing her, holding in his left hand a spear which rests on his shoulder. He is dressed in a short tunic. Under his forearm their child is standing.

In the second line of the inscription is a curious variation in the penultimate syllable, *οδα* or *οιδα*. This may be due to a mason's error. There is a *Καλαμύδη* in Crete, and possibly Agatheia and Brithon were Cretans.

No. 3. This was a puzzle, which Mr. Marcus N. Tod, after persistent search, partly solved by tracing the inscription to *C.I.G.* 2158, and thence to *I.G.* xii. 8. 188. The marble slab was brought from Samothrace to the Hellespont by a British merchant named Willis. Lord Aberdeen saw it at Athens in the house of Fauvel (cf. Walpole's *Travels*, 602). Thence almost certainly it was brought, along with the other four, by Hawkins. From copies by Fauvel and by Akerblad, Boeckh edited it in *C.I.G.* 2158. Fredrich has republished it among the Samothracian inscriptions (*I.G.* xii. 8. 188), slightly emending Boeckh's restoration. Unfortunately the stone has now deteriorated so much from exposure and wear that a better text cannot now be established.

Dimensions 32 in. \times 14½ in. at base.

The top half has a conventional representation of a temple front and door, on either side of which is a burning torch; the lower half has a Greek inscription (in capitals), fourteen lines and the beginning of the fifteenth of which survive, but very much worn, especially at the bottom, so that only a few words here and there are now distinguishable. The following transcript is the result of a comparison with Fredrich, and embodies four suggestions made by Mr. Tod.

ἐπὶ βασιλέως Δίνωνος τοῦ
 Ἀπολλωνίδου
 [ἀ]γορανομοῦντος Ἑρμο[κράτους ?]
 τοῦ Πυθονίκου
 5 [ὦ]ς δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ ἐπὶ Ἑταιρίω-
 [ν]ὸς τοῦ Εὐμνήστου ἱ[π]πάρχ[εω]
 μύστης εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἐπόπτ[ης]
 [Ν]ίκης Μνησιστ[ρ]άτου, φύσει δ[ε]
 Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀττάλου, Κυζικη-
 10 νός, ἀρχιτέκτων, ἀποσταλεῖς
 παρὰ Κυζικηνῶν [κα]τὰ τὴν < κ - - - >
 πρεσβείαν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ < Σ >
 [Σ]αμοθράκων ἕνεκα τῆς ν[εω]-
 πολ[ι]ς [κ]αὶ τ(ῶ)ν ἱερ(ῶ)ν Ἑρμῶν
 15 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - -
 - - - - - ονος - - -
 20 - - - - - ας Ἀσκληπιάδου, Μν - - -
 - - - - - Σαμύλου, Μα - - -
 - - - - - Θράσων(?)
 ου, [β]άκχιος - - -

Translation, so far as is possible : In the year of King Dinon, the son of Apollonidas, when Hermes (or Hermocrates), the son of Pythonices, was clerk of the market, and according to the Cyzicene calendar, in the year when Hetairion, the son of Eumnestos, was hipparch, Nikis, the son of Mnesistratos,

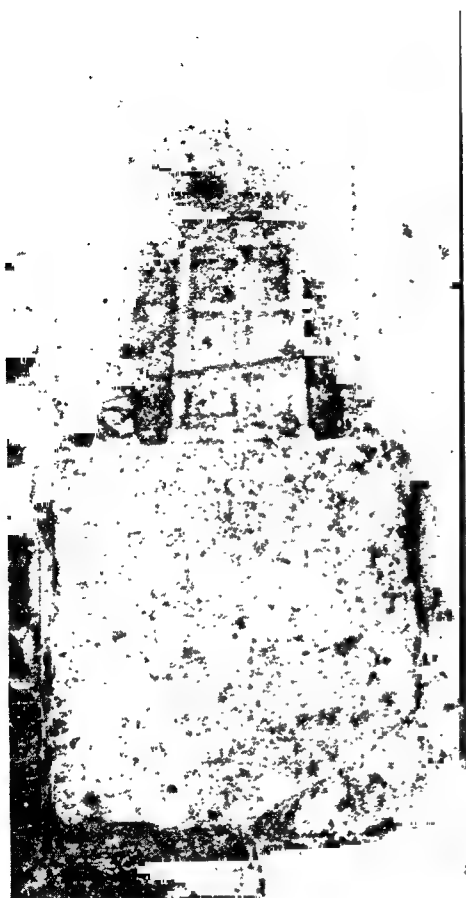


FIG. 3, No. 3.



FIG. 4, No. 4.



FIG. 5, No. 5.

a pious initiated worshipper of the highest grade, who by birth was Asclepiades, the son of Attalos, of Cyzicus, a master-builder, sent out by the Cyzicenes in accordance with the embassy of the people of Samothrace to undertake the temple construction and the sacred Hermae . . .

No. 4. Dimensions $24\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times 10 in. Within a niche, which is only partly preserved, a headless female draped figure stands to the front, with the left arm hanging down close to the body, the hand holding a fold of the garment. The chiton is in rather stiff folds, recalling fifth-century models, and is caught up high round the waist by a girdle, the higher folds being gathered up over the breast by a brooch. Probably Athena.

No. 5. Dimensions $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. high; there remains about a quarter (the right top) of the whole stone. A lady in a riding cloak is riding to right, approaching a tree round which a snake is coiled. The type of *dieu cavalier* is well known, but in this example the figure appears to be feminine. Along the top of the frame is an inscription :

- ΜΒΕΙΡΙΟΣ ΦΙΡΜΟΣΧΗΣΑ

S. E. WINBOLT.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE, 1927-1928

As the twelve months which have elapsed since my last report was completed have not witnessed any very sensational discoveries, or the inception of any very important new undertakings, I have less than usual to chronicle in the present article. Most of it relates to work done in 1927, of which particulars had not reached me in time for my last report; and I must pass over, for the same reason, several of the campaigns conducted this year. The usual arrangement is followed.¹

AMERICAN SCHOOL

After a year's interval Prof. T. L. Shear this year resumed work on the *Theatre at Corinth*,² aiming chiefly at clearing the stage and following the east parodos to its exit. Only foundations of the stage remain: there are some Greek walls, but the main structure is of Roman date. The walls of the east parodos are well preserved for their whole extent of 42 metres; about halfway along its course the parodos makes a right angle turn to the north, and then continues its course east, rising all the way by a ramp and a flight of steps. At its east end it opens on to a street running north and south, paved and with a raised side-walk. The pavement near the parodos is 5.70 metres wide and runs for a length of 62 metres, but the street continues, unpaved, southward beyond this point. To the north the street opens on to a plaza, not yet fully excavated; to the south it rises by a ramp and steps, skirting the outer wall of the east cavea. In this wall is an opening to a carefully made pit with triangular footholes in the sides; objects found in the filling of the pit date it, with the cavea wall, as early in the time of Augustus. A large number of coins, found with other small objects in a burnt layer 0.50 metre above the pavement, date from the second to the fourth century after Christ.

Among the sculptures, interesting finds were an archaic male bearded head of poros covered with stucco, painted white with traces of red, which, from its size and style, may come from the decorations of the Apollo Temple, and a small statue of an ephebe, apparently a good Roman version of the Polykleitan Diadumenos. There were also further fragments of the frieze of the Gigantomachy found in 1925-1926, which probably decorated the front of the stage. This new 'Theatre Street' is of great topographical importance, for Pausanias certainly came down it to the Theatre and then proceeded to the

¹ I wish to record my indebtedness to all those who have kindly supplied me with reports on their excavations, and to my wife for help in translating and summarising.

² Cf. *J.H.S.* 1926, p. 223. I am indebted to Prof. Shear for a report on this season's work.

Gymnasium, the Fountain of Lerna and the Temples of Zeus and Asklepios, which, he says, are not far from the Theatre. The aim of Prof. Shear's next campaign will be to follow the footsteps of Pausanias to those buildings. Besides his work on the Theatre, Prof. Shear opened thirty-three graves in a cemetery north of the northern line of cliffs, over which the earth from the Theatre had been dumped. The graves were untouched and date from the end of the sixth century B.C., yielding much pottery—Corinthian, Attic and Corinthian imitations of Attic, which should give interesting comparative data for the two styles.

Prof. Rhys Carpenter informs me that his own principal discovery was that of a large and early Christian Basilica near the Cenchrean Gate, probably dating from the reign of Justinian, with an unusual plan recalling that of the early church at Tebessa in North Africa, and showing indications of much subsequent rebuilding. The main result of Dr. Meritt's campaign at the Odeum was to establish that it dates from Augustan times, and that Herodes Atticus can only have renovated and adorned it. The disastrous earthquake at the end of April did not do any damage to the early Temple or other buildings of old Corinth, and the contents of the Museum suffered little injury.

Near the *Argive Heraeum*, in the spring of 1928, Dr. Blegen carried on a third and final campaign of exploration of the early cemeteries, which resulted in the discovery of two burials apparently of the Neolithic period, nineteen Middle Helladic graves and twenty-one Mycenaean chamber-tombs.³

In the Neolithic burials the bones, some of which had been burnt, lay heaped together, packed in with small stones, in shallow depressions cut in the rock, and covered with a layer of burnt debris, possibly the remains of burnt sacrifices in honour of the dead. Hardly any objects were found in these graves, but in the earth covering them were a number of sherds of exclusively Neolithic types.

The M.H. graves were all cist graves, frequently covered with large slabs of limestone. They yielded a good many vases, chiefly diminutive pots decorated in the matt-painted style, a few small bronze implements, and some simple jewellery of paste, crystal and bronze.

The Mycenaean tombs proved very rich in pottery, jewellery and bronze. The total number of vases is not far short of four hundred. The two most important objects unearthed were a massive gold ring, with a large bezel engraved with two griffins, standing one on either side of a spirally fluted column; and a small ivory statuette of a standing "goddess." She wears a characteristic Minoan costume, with a flounced skirt, decorated with foliate sprays and rosettes, a low-cut bodice, open about the full breasts, and a necklace. The figure was badly shattered, but has been skilfully repaired by M. E. Gilliéron of the National Museum. The right arm is missing, but the hand was laid above the right breast. The left arm was bent at the elbow and held across the body. This statuette seems to be the first of its kind to come to light on the mainland of Greece.

³ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1926, pp. 226 f.; 1927, pp. 237 f. Dr. Blegen has kindly sent me a report on this season's work.

An expedition led by Prof. David Robinson, of Johns Hopkins University, on behalf of the University of Michigan, conducted a long campaign in 1928 at the site of *Olynthus*. No inscription or other positive evidence for the identification of the site as Olynthus was found, but its position and importance leave no room for doubt. Pending the receipt of full details from the excavator in charge, I can only refer to Mr. Seltman's illustrated report,⁴ which draws attention to the interesting features of the domestic architecture (with large houses of the *impluvium*-type, quite unlike the Hellenistic peristyle-arrangement), the workshop for the manufacture of terra-cottas, and the numerous coins, of which a high proportion are silver pieces antedating the destruction of the city by Philip of Macedon. No certain temple-site was found.

BRITISH SCHOOL

Activities at *Sparta* were limited to clearing up fallen material at the sites of the Theatre and of the Orthia Sanctuary. At the latter it was noted that the early votive deposit continued southwards under the foundations of the Roman amphitheatre beyond the point where work was abandoned in 1910, both above and below the cobble pavement of Geometric date. Among the fallen stones a columnar statue-base, inscribed with a dedication to a Bomonikes, came to light, which dates from *ca.* A.D. 200, and yet another fragment of a stele erected by a victor in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών*, of about the same period. As it is unlikely that further excavations will be carried out by the British School at Sparta, the final publication of the results of its many campaigns there is much to be desired; and it is satisfactory to learn that a volume dealing with the Orthia Sanctuary is in preparation.

Mr. W. A. Heurtley, Assistant-Director of the School, continued his programme of exploring early sites in Macedonia, excavating in the spring of 1928 two sites near Olynthus, namely *Molivópyrgo* (the ancient port) and *Hágios Mámas*, situated twenty minutes away from the classical site.⁵ The mound at Molivópyrgo yielded two periods of occupation, the lower stratum containing exclusively Early Aegean Bronze Age pottery of the Helladic variety; this included the characteristic bowls with incurved rims and examples of a kind of 'sauce-boat,' in a fabric indistinguishable from the 'non-Urfirnis' class of Early Helladic ware. The pottery from the upper stratum was mostly coarse monochrome ware, shewing close affinities with that of central Macedonia, but associated with it were numerous fragments of Minyan ring-stemmed goblets, rather coarser in fabric than those from central and southern Greece, but definitely Minyan. This stratum revealed traces of habitations in the form of a crudely made stone wall, with cross-walls at intervals dividing the area into six or more sectors; in four of these cobble floors were preserved, and in one compartment three stages of occupation could be distinguished by renewal of the paving. The second mound showed four levels, of which the lowest was definitely Neolithic, with wares closely

⁴ *Illustrated London News*, May 26th, 1928.

⁵ Abridged from the *Annual Report* of the British School at Athens, 1927-1928.

resembling the Thessalian (white on black-polished, rippled, beaded and burnished), together with a few painted sherds resembling some classes of Thessalian 'A' and 'B.' The second stratum from the bottom, which was about seven metres thick, contained Early Helladic ware, as at Molivópyrgo, and corresponds chronologically to the latter half of Period A at Vardaróftsa.⁶ It yielded also a potter's kiln, several complete vases, fragments of anthropomorphic vases, figurines of Trojan type, a stone axe, and a remarkable necklace of teeth and bone beads. The third stratum, corresponding to Period B at Vardaróftsa yielded a few pieces of incised ware, a fair amount of Minyan, as at Molivópyrgo, and much coarse indeterminate ware. The fourth and latest stratum, closely resembling in its types of pottery those of Period C at Vardaróftsa yielded large quantities of Mycenaean (L.H. III.b) sherds in its upper levels. There were no signs of later occupation. Mr. Heurtley hopes to be able to draw important conclusions from the comparative study of the pottery from these two sites as to the relations in prehistoric times between Chalcidice and central Macedonia. It is already clear that in the Middle Helladic Period the former was more exposed to influence from the south—as illustrated by the familiarity with Minyan goblets—while the latter was more in touch with Danubian influences. In the Late Helladic period, their cultures seem to have been identical.

At *Knossos* in 1928 Sir Arthur Evans continued on an extensive scale the task of reconstruction in the quarters east of the Central Court. The work which was supervised by Mr. Piet De Jong, Architect to the British School, lasted for five months and involved the employment of over fifty masons and carpenters. With the aid of reinforced concrete the whole of the Hall of the Double Axes, including its eastern and southern porticoes, has been roofed over and the remains of the upper floor relaid at its original height. The gypsum pavement and other perishable features of what is the largest Palace Hall have thus been saved from further deterioration and the painted stucco remains in the hall above have also been secured and protected. The lobby of the Grand Staircase has also been entirely restored and roofed over, a replica of the great 'Shield Fresco' that belonged to its inner face being executed to fill its original place by M. E. Gilliéron. His skilful hand has also restored the 'Fish Fresco' on the north wall of the Queen's Megaron. The reconstitution of the Grand Staircase area has at the same time been continued to a level somewhat above that of the Central Court. One great advantage of this method of cement restoration—partly by means of imitation blocks—is that the new work can at once be recognised by the trained eye.

No extensive excavation took place, but mention must be made of the discovery near the House of the Frescoes of a Minoan well lined with more than thirty terra-cotta cylinders—of a material so hard as to be at first mistaken for stone—incised with signs some of them taken from the linear script. A very careful exploration of the area north of the Central Court has led to stratigraphic results of great interest and a complete scheme of the original

⁶ Cf. *B.S.A.* xxvii. pp. 13 ff.

upper system of the North Pillar Hall and Entrance Passage has also been elaborated from the existing elements.

FRENCH SCHOOL

The following is a report of the work of the French School during the year 1927:—⁷

At *Delphi* there has been no further excavation, but in the course of widening the road a small head was discovered, probably from one of the metopes of the Treasury of the Athenians; some inscriptions also came to light, one of them *στοιχηδόν*.

At *Apollonia* in Illyria M. L. Rey continued his work, opening up more of the niched monument discovered earlier, and proving that the niches formed one side of a long building divided by a central row of columns. The columns are eight-sided, with the echinus of the capital cut to correspond and a heavy torus-moulding below it in place of the usual Doric annuli. Among the finds were fragments of various dedicatory statues; from the evidence of the inscriptions the building dates from the first or second century A.D.

The finding of a bronze mirror is reported from the necropolis of Apollonia of late sixth- or early fifth-century work; the support is in the form of an Aphrodite, standing and draped, the hands close to the sides.

Work at *Mallia*, under MM. Chapouthier and Demargne, was concentrated on the north and east sections of the Palace, and the limits of the building and its entrances were established on these sides. The eastern boundary wall, built of large blocks of blue limestone, is about 1 metre thick, and is broken by a large opening flanked by two round columns. In the eastern wing two groups of store-chambers open on to the portico of the central court.

In the north court the rooms on the western side were further cleared; one was surrounded by a low bench on which were a number of vases, another contained an immense pithos, 1.75 metres high, sunk in the ground up to its shoulder. On to this courtyard opened the northern entrance of the Palace, a true propylon, consisting of two vestibules at right angles, both paved. Before this entrance is a paved courtyard from which runs a roadway 1.15 metres wide, descending obliquely in the direction of the harbour. In its arrangement this propylon is exactly similar to those in the south-west of the Palace at Knossos. While the eastern entrance served the store-chambers, this entrance must have served the state apartments, crossing the smaller courtyard and entering the north portico of the central court near the hypostyle hall. The painted sherds were nearly all of the M.M. IIIb style. In the north-west region there were found 'horns of consecration' of terra-cotta, 0.22 metre high, and a small votive animal, probably from a small domestic shrine.

Last year's suggestions as to the dating of the Palace were confirmed by this year's results: there were clear traces of two occupations, the later reconstruction, which is particularly evident in the northern court,

⁷ From a report shortly to be published in *B.C.H.* 1927. I am indebted to Prof. P. Roussel, Director of the French School, for the loan of proof-sheets of this report.

certainly dating from the M.M. III.b period, while the earlier building seems to date from M.M.I.

In *Samothrace*, in June, M. Chapouthier explored the foundations of a large building (measuring *ca.* 35 × 25 metres) to the north of the Hieron. The plan and the style of these foundations suggest a temple, probably dating from the middle of the third century B.C. Later in the year M. Salač cleared a number of marble architectural fragments from the modern walls on the site.

In *Thasos* MM. Seyrig and Bon opened up the region to the north-west of the sanctuary of Dionysos,⁸ clearing the peribolos of a sanctuary with three large altars. The peribolos is rectangular, running roughly north and south on a terrace cut out of the rock on the east side and surrounded by walls on the other sides: the marble retaining wall on the west, 48.50 metres long, stands to a height of about 2 metres, and is pierced by a large doorway and a window. Inside the walls, along the south face, are traces of buildings, probably priests' dwellings. That the sanctuary was sacred to Poseidon is proved by the inscriptions on two bases set in front of the entrance: they date from early in the fourth century B.C., and both bear the same dedication: 'Xenophanes, son of Myllos, to Poseidon.' In front of the sanctuary, and facing towards it, stands a large marble altar, and probably attached to it was a plaque inscribed with a sacred law forbidding the sacrifice of goats to Hera Epilimenia. Aphrodite also has her share in the sanctuary, for a statue of the goddess with Eros riding on a dolphin was found to the south of the main doorway. The presence of another building was revealed, to the north of the Poseideion. This may be a sanctuary of Sarapis, and will be further excavated this year.

GERMAN SCHOOL.⁹

In my last report¹⁰ I gave an account of the work in the spring of 1927 of Dr. A. Brückner in the *Kerameikos* and of Prof. Karo at *Tiryns*. During the autumn of 1927 the latter excavations were continued, on the east slopes of Hágios Elías, a few kilometres to the south-east of the citadel. More than fifty tombs were opened, and thirteen of these were cleared. They are of the usual chamber-tomb type with dromos, though two of them, earlier in date, are approached by a vertical shaft. The tombs seem mostly to have been made in the early, and to have been re-used in the late, Mycenaean period. Objects of value were rare, the chief finds being a number of vases in good preservation. There can be no doubt that this is the necropolis of Tiryns, in spite of its distance from the citadel.

In the *Theatre of Dionysos* in Athens Dr. Dörpfeld has made some further excavations with a view to making a new plan, and was able to prove that the Roman stage was fitted with a curtain arrangement. A fine oinochoe was found dating from *ca.* 425 B.C., with a scene representing a youth on a bed and a female harpist sitting beside him.

⁸ *J.H.S.* 1924, pp. 267 f.

from *Gnomon*, 1928, pp. 51 ff.

⁹ The following summary is mostly taken

¹⁰ *J.H.S.* 1927, pp. 249 and 251.

At *Aegina* Dr. Welter continued his excavations to the east of the hill of Aphrodite, clearing a large part of the Early Helladic settlement. Rich strata, from Neolithic to Late Helladic times, were found intact. Among the finds were imported Cretan wares dating from E.M. III. to M.M. II., Cycladic stone vases and a quantity of Cycladic pottery. Built down into the prehistoric walls, the foundations came to light of two Treasuries and of a circular building, all of the period of the Temple. Other finds were a large Protocorinthian skyphos with a frieze of horsemen, a fragment of the thigh of a marble sphinx and a relief from an inscribed stele representing Apollo and a city goddess.

At *Samos* Prof. E. Buschor, with Dr. O. Reuther and others, has continued excavations on the site of the Heraeum, working out the prehistoric settlement to the east and north of the Temple and tracing the lines of two early Greek roads running respectively north-east and south-east from a point by the north-west angle of the Temple; the second had been bordered by votive offerings, but at a later period, when the archaic Temple was built over the road, these votives were perhaps transferred to the portico to the north of the Temple. North-east are a temple *in antis* and further Greek foundations built upon prehistoric walls, and, near by, bases of the Roman period and a late circular building.

The region in front of the Temple was studied, and here the first altar of the Heraeum must have been further to the east than the one discovered by Wiegand, for under this altar is a much earlier building, 100 feet long, narrow and with two aisles—the earliest Heraeum preserved (H. II.). After this Temple was destroyed another was built further west (H. III.), with its altar built upon the older Temple. Four further successive buildings can be identified, and during these years the altar was enlarged and a portico added to the east, but it was destroyed in the time of Augustus and a new altar raised (36×16 metres), imitating the archaic forms of the Temple, and at the same time a large archaising Temple was built to the west (H. VIII.).

Under both sites of the Heraeum a thick burnt stratum was found with quantities of votive offerings of the Geometric and Orientalising periods—pottery, bronze, terra-cotta, faience and statuettes in limestone, etc. Elsewhere some interesting early bronzes came to light, among them a youth, a horseman, a number of gryphon-protomai and a statuette of Aphrodite. Among the sculptures found were fragments of archaic statues and poros bas-reliefs.

At *Pergamon* ¹¹ work has been renewed by Prof. Wiegand, at two points: (i) on the highest point of the acropolis, where buildings were discovered which, from the finding of about one hundred balls of trachyte, must have been an arsenal, dating apparently from the end of the third century B.C.; (ii) on the ancient road to the south of the fortress gate the foundations of a building were uncovered, measuring 50×40 metres, with inner peristyle suggesting a palace and dating from the time of the kings.

¹¹ Cf. *Gnomon*, 1927, p. 555.

GREEK ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICE

Athens and Attica. In the Odeion of Pericles, Dr. P. Kastriotis, who had in 1925 excavated the whole length (63·40 metres) of the north wall, cleared in 1927 that on the west, which proved much destroyed and had been repaired at various periods. At the north-west corner some of the marble slabs of the revetment are preserved. This west wall has no retaining-wall of its own, and the massive eastern retaining-wall of the Theatre, which was excavated to a depth of 7 metres, serves to protect it. Near the Propylon, more of the terra-cotta conduit of the Enneakrounos came to light. Some 25 metres to the south of the north wall part of the south wall was found, which establishes the dimensions of the Odeion as 63·40 × 25·10 metres, and shews that Pausanias in referring to the plan as *τετράγωνον* apparently cannot have meant square.

At the *Amphiareion* at Oropos, Dr. Leonardos, resuming the exploration of the Temple, has found that there were benches in pronaos and cella. Further work on the right bank of the stream revealed more buildings, and also a boundary inscription and a decree in honour of an Athenian, of the third century B.C. A general plan of the site is being prepared to accompany Dr. Leonardos's comprehensive report on the excavations which he commenced here in 1884. Dr. Kyparisses has undertaken the task of exploring systematically all the large cemeteries of the Attic Demes, beginning with Halimous, Aixone and Halai. An accidental find, of a fine fifth-century grave-relief in the Byron quarter south of the Ilissos, indicates the presence of another Athenian cemetery.

At *Eleusis*, Dr. Kourouniotes has cleared a quantity of earth from the south and east of the peribolos of the Sanctuary, discovering a series of reservoirs of Roman date built on and covering a portion of the Periclean wall; and on the east he has cleared another portion of the same wall, uncovering the foundations of a large circular tower. South of the Sanctuary he has found the foundations of a large square building, near the Mithraeum; in it was a Roman imperial statue, probably of a member of the Julio-Claudian House.

At *Thebes*, Prof. Keramopoulos has continued work on the House of Cadmus, finding in a room to the south of those previously dug some gold objects, including a small seated doe, a small oinochoe with granular ornament and parts of a necklace. The one painted vase found dates from L.M. II. He has also found further evidence for the use of timber, both vertical and horizontal, in the structure of the walls. At *Agrinion*, Dr. Miliades has begun work on the site, clearing a large portico and identifying the sites of several other buildings. He also excavated a few tombs at *Arta*, where he found terra-cotta and bronze *kalpai* inscribed with the names of the dead.

In Thessaly, Prof. Soteriou has nearly finished clearing the Basilica at *New Anchialos*, finding a sacristy on the south side and traces of a baptistry and other subsidiary buildings on the north.

Peloponnese and Islands. At *Epidaurus*, the late Dr. Kavvadias in 1927 cleared the floor of one of the wings of the Stoa leading from the Artemision

and the Stoa of Kotys to the 'Akoai,' finding a rough mosaic pavement. The death, in July, 1928, of this eminent archaeologist, who was taken ill at Epidaurous, will have been learned with deep regret by all readers of the *Journal*.

At *Stymphalos*, Prof. Orlandos has excavated more of the Agora, clearing the gateway leading to Orchomenos. The interesting feature of an Ionic porch in front of it seems an addition of Hellenistic date. In the large rock-cutting or quarry the circular building found in 1924 proves to be of fourth-century date, and had a painted terra-cotta cornice. The structure already recognised as a propylon has been found to lead to a large building with courtyard, porticoes and chambers, probably a Palaestra.

In *Lesbos* Dr. Evangelides has further cleared the foundations of the archaic temple found earlier at *Klope* in Kallone, but the building has been so much destroyed that it is difficult to reconstruct the plan. Another temple close to it was scarcely better preserved, only the west side and north-west corner being traceable with the bases of two columns of Aeolic type, a capital of the same style being found near by. Eight columns can be conjectured for the short side of the temple, but the number on the long side cannot yet be determined. In the earth were found fragments of carefully worked poros plaques, antefixes decorated in relief, a Geometric engraved fibula and a small bronze vase.

ITALIAN SCHOOL AND ITALIAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE DODECANESE

Prof. Della Seta continued in 1927 his excavations on the site of Hephaisteia in *Lemnos*, again devoting special attention to the cemeteries, and as a result of his two seasons' work has now found in all nearly two hundred and fifty interments of the kind described in my previous report.¹² The ossuaries are of two different types, being either oval vessels of red micaceous clay, sometimes decorated in relief, or else conical, or bi-conical, urns in coarser clay, mostly undecorated: the former group was usually richer in contents. Some of the vases which they contained must have been for ritual use only since their necks were not pierced.

The pottery in general falls into two classes, of which one is made of coarse ash-grey clay, and is most frequently in the form of small bi-conical amphorae, but occasionally of groups of two or three united above by a tall handle so as to form a *kernos*; the other is of finer clay, and its shapes include small amphorae, oinochoae, pyxides, etc. with geometric ornament in purple or red, sometimes on a white slip, on the shoulder only, though spirals and other motives reminiscent of Mycenaean appear at times in combination with them. With these two classes of ware, which must be of local origin, occur also imported vases of Protocorinthian and Corinthian fabric: saucers, aryballoi, and bombylioi of normal types. A solitary piece with figure-decoration represents the ambushing of Troilus by Achilles. Two aryballoi of the

¹² *J.H.S.* 1927, p. 259. For the fuller details now given I am indebted to a report kindly furnished by Prof. Della Seta.

coarse local clay seem to represent, in ornament as well as form, native imitations of Corinthian imports.

Fourteen tombs in all yielded gold jewellery, comprising, in addition to earrings which are relatively common, rings, necklaces with pendants and bracelets, and a single example of a *stephane*. Bronze fibulae, especially of bow-pattern, were frequent, as well as many derivative types, known elsewhere, but all of sub-Mycenaean or Geometric date. Among weapons, as in the first season, axes and knives with straight or curved blades were more usual than spears. Other finds of interest include, in gesso, a nude male statuette and a representation of the typically Orientalising motive of a man struggling with a beast; in the same burial as the latter were several small figures of Bes. Of architectural importance is a small terra-cotta model of a building, in the form of a double cella with three columns at the sides and in the centre, which have rectangular capitals suggesting a proto-Doric type.

These and other finds seem to date the cemeteries to the eighth to ninth centuries B.C., and Prof. Della Seta concludes that they belonged to a race which maintained strong recollections of Mycenaean civilisation (a single Mycenaean gem formed the sole contents of one burial), but was itself not Greek; and that it should perhaps be identified with the 'Tyrrheno-Pelasgian' population which occupied the island down to the time of the Athenian conquest.

In the city of Hephaisteia the expedition has located and partly cleared a large building of polygonal masonry dated by its finds to the ninth or eighth century, but adapted (in the fourth or third, to judge by the use of double-T clamps) as a bath, which lasted down to Roman times. This discovery will be followed up in their next campaign.

For the numerous and successful activities of the Italian archaeologists in Rhodes and adjacent islands a reference must suffice to two recent publications.¹³ The intention of prosecuting further research in the island is assured by the creation of the 'Istituto Storico-archeologico di Rodi' inaugurated in May, 1928.

OTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSIONS

In June of 1927 Prof. Persson of the Swedish Mission, in conjunction with Dr. Bertos, Ephor of Antiquities for the Argolid, continued his work at Dendra,¹⁴ near the ruins of Mycenaean Midea, and opened up three more chamber-tombs. One of these, tomb 2, yielded magnificent results. The dromos, 20 metres in length, leads to a blocked-up doorway which widens, funnel-shaped, to a rectangular chamber, hewn out into the shape of a house with a 'saddle' roof, measuring 3.15 metres to the ridge. A pit by the door was filled with a quantity of bronze vessels together with weapons and mirrors,

¹³ *Bollettino d'Arte*, 1928, pp. 514-522; and the newly-founded publication *Clara Rhodos, Studi e Materiali pubbl. a cura dell'Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi*, I. (1928). Cf. a summary of the former in *B.C.H.* 1927, p. 499.

¹⁴ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1926, p. 248. The above account is from *Art & Archaeology*, June, 1928, pp. 277 ff. Cf. also Mr. A. J. B. Wace's report, *Illustrated London News*, June 9th, 1928.

some of these still complete with their handles or shafts of wood. One of the mirror-handles is decorated with the figures of two women seated on either side; in one of the bowls lay a piece of cloth, well preserved. Inside the chamber, buried under fallen debris from the roof, lay the fragments of what has been identified as a large slaughter-table of poros, a large slab, measuring 2×0.85 metres, with a raised rim and square sinkings at the corners. There were also two coarse-hewn stones with a projection at one end, suggesting roughly shaped idols, with sinkings and grooves on the surface; there was a third stone, plain but for sinkings on one side. Against the inner short wall of the chamber stood a low hearth or altar, built of small stones with a coating of lime; a thick deposit of charcoal lay on and around it, and in the wall above it, 2 metres from the floor, were seven deeply bored holes. The tomb had been plundered early in antiquity, but buried under a fall of the door-filling previous to the plundering, there remained three lamps of steatite, four alabaster vases, a bronze sword with a mass of white beads that must have decorated the hilt, pierced boars' tusks which had once covered a helmet, several small gold objects and thousands of small coloured beads that had once decorated a robe in a pattern still traceable. From the evidence of the pottery that was found in quantities Prof. Persson dates the tomb to a time soon after 1300 B.C. Of two pits in the floor, one had been plundered; the other, by the hearth-altar, was full of animal bones, and among them lay a silver cup, a seal stone, an ivory flower and a long knife.

In commenting on the curious fact of the total absence of human bones in the chamber, Prof. Persson rejects the theory that the structure is a cave-sanctuary; its form and the way in which it is walled up correspond too closely to the arrangement of the beehive tomb at Dendra and other Mycenaean tombs for it to be anything but a tomb—or rather cenotaph—where the rough-hewn stones take the place of the dead, who perhaps perished far away or at sea, and these stones, as substitutes for the bodies, are set out with the treasures and weapons of the dead and honoured with all the ritual of animal sacrifice.

Cyprus. By the kindness of Dr. Einar Gjerstad I am enabled to give the following account of the recent discoveries of the Swedish Mission to Cyprus. The work in 1927 took place at Lapithos and Soloi, and has already been described in accessible form.¹⁵ This year the sites explored were *Founti* and *Dali*. The former site, supposed to be the ancient Aipeia (old Soloi), is some four miles north-west of Soloi, and occupies a bleak rock rising 800 feet straight from sea-level on one side. On its lower inland slope has been found a large Palace, with an area of more than 10,000 square metres, built round a wide central court. From this a broad staircase leads up to the western wing, which proves to have had at least two stories; to the south lay the kitchen, to the north a system of fifteen or more magazines, opening from a narrow corridor as in a Minoan palace; and to the south-east were the private apartments—magnificent rooms with verandahs and terraces descending at different

¹⁵ *Antiquity*, ii. p. 189 ff.

levels to the main gateway. This wing must have been at least three stories high. On either side of the gate and on the steps there came to light a large quantity of statues, male and female, in various states of completeness, in stone and terra-cotta. Some of their bases were still in situ, and some smaller statuettes must have stood in niches on the walls. Most of these works show Greek influence, and a few closely resemble the Korai of the Athenian Acro-



FIG. 1.—HEAD OF ATHENA, FROM VOUNI.

polis; but they are all of Cypriote origin, and their date falls in the period 550–450 B.C.

There was a dearth of other finds in the Palace, pointing to a deliberate abandonment rather than a catastrophe.

On the summit of the rock also important results were obtained, for a building was found, originally divided into three naves by wooden walls, which has been recognised as a Sacellum, and beneath it were the stone foundations of a long, rectangular building, whose superstructure was of wood, which must have been a temple. In the court in front of it were some statue-bases, and

near its southern limit were the foundations of two Treasuries, in which were still lying heaps of bronze offerings—shields, swords, spear-heads, etc. In the foundations of the Sacellum were found a fine bronze cow, 25 centimetres long, and two bronze reliefs representing two lions attacking a bull, fine works of the Orientalising period; and in the temple were four heads of Athena, of classic type, in Attic helmet, which establish the identification of the cult. The temple must, however, be earlier than the Palace, for the latter seems contemporary with the Sacellum.

At *Dali* (Idalion), where previous excavators (Lang, and subsequently Ohnefalsch-Richter) had found temple-sites and tombs, excavations on the summit of the Acropolis by Dr. Gjerstad revealed evidence of a long-continued cult. A late Bronze Age settlement (Late Cypriote III.) of ca. 1200-1000 B.C. yielded cult-objects, including bulls in terra-cotta, a stone axe, seals and cylinders with figure-scenes, and the carbonised remains of a wooden table with a cloth and olive-stones on it. This cult seems to have continued through the Iron Age into historic times. It had apparently no temple, but was located in a large open temenos with an altar. The votive objects comprised, in addition to a quantity of bronze weapons, an iron cuirass and lamps, bronze bowls, and rings in gold, silver and iron. A bronze bull's head from a wooden *cista* is of unusually high artistic merit. No further proof of identification was found, but on the evidence of an inscribed fragment found some sixty years ago this too was a sanctuary of Athena. It seems that she was here worshipped under a Cypriote rather than a Hellenic aspect, as is shown by the nature of the finds, and the absence of a temple.

The Austrian mission under Prof. J. Keil resumed work at *Ephesus* in the autumn of 1927, on the Catacombs of the Seven Sleepers, finding the actual tombs of the 'Sleepers'.¹⁶ Numerous *graffiti* show that it was a centre of pilgrimage up to the middle of the fifteenth century. A large building to the north of the stadium is now identified as baths of the Antonine epoch, and contains one room especially rich in decoration, probably set apart for the worship of the Emperor. Beneath the Church of St. John were found traces of a structure earlier than the period of Justinian, and rooms beneath the later altar where tradition set the tomb of St. John himself.

No report has yet reached me of the British Academy's second season's work at Constantinople.

A. M. WOODWARD.

¹⁶ Cf. *J.H.S.* 1927, p. 260. The second campaign is described in *Klio*, xxii, pp. 161-2.

A REDISCOVERED CAERETAN HYDRIA

[PLATES XI-XIV.]

THROUGH the kind permission of Mr. H. B. Walters, I am enabled to publish a Caeretan hydria, whose whereabouts has for many years been unknown and of which the only previous illustration is the drawing in Endt, *Beiträge zur Ionischen Vasenmalerei*, figs. 7, 8. This is the hydria with a young man in a chariot, pursued by a griffin, on the front, and two pairs of satyr and maenad, on the back: it is now in the British Museum, and bears the inventory number 1923, 4-19.1. Before proceeding with a more detailed description of the vase, I give a list of the group, that of Dümmler (*Röm. Mitt.* iii, p. 166 f.), to which nos. 15-18 were added by Pottier (B.C.H. 1892, p. 254 ff.), no. 19 by Endt (*op. cit.*, p. 1), no. 20 by Loeschcke (*Ath. Mitt.* xix, p. 516, n. 1.), no. 21 by Furtwängler in the text to *F.R.* Pl. 51. The bibliography is only intended to give the handiest illustrations: for a full bibliography and an admirable account of the group as a whole, see E. R. Price, *East Greek Pottery* (C.V.A. Classification, 13).

1. Vienna, Osterr. Museum, 217. A. Heracles and Busiris. B. Busiris' negro police force. *Mon. d.I.* viii, p. 16, Furtwängler-Reichhold, Pl. 51, Buschor, *Griechische Vasen*,² fig. 80, Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeichn.*, figs. 152-153.
2. Paris, Louvre, E 701. A. Heracles and Cerberus. B. Two eagles seizing a hare. *Mon. d.I.* vi, Pl. 36, Buschor, fig. 81, Pfuhl, fig. 154; Alinari, 23699.
3. Rome, Villa Giulia 50649 (Castellani). A. Heracles and Cerberus. B. Winged horses. *Boll. d'Arte*, 2nd ser., iii. (1924), pp. 504 ff., figs. 7, 8.
4. Rome, Vatican. A. Heracles and Aleyoneus. B. A pair of wrestlers and a pair of boxers. Albizzati, *Vasi Dipinti del Vaticano*, no. 229, pls. 19, 20.
5. Paris, Louvre, E 696. A. Atalanta and the Calydonian boar. B. Europa and the bull. *Mon. d.I.* vi.-vii., Pl. 77, Alinari, 23697.
6. Rome, Villa Giulia 50648 (Castellani). A. Europa. B. Galloping horses. Endt, *op. cit.* abb. 3, 4, Poulsen, *Delphi* (Engl. ed.), p. 79, fig. 21 (wrongly described as in the Louvre), *Boll. d'Arte*, 2nd ser., iii. (1924), pp. 506 ff., figs. 9, 10.
7. Vienna, Osterr. Museum, 218. A. Return of Hephaistos. B. Two pairs of satyr and maenad. Masner, *Cat. Tf.* ii., von Lucken, *Gr. Vasen*, Tf. 62, 63, Furtwängler-Reichhold, I. p. 260.
8. Rome, Conservatori. A. Return of Hephaistos. B. Two springing horses.
9. Paris, Louvre, E 702. A. Hermes and Apollo's oxen. B. Eos and Cephalos. *Mem. d.I.*, ii. 1865, pl. 15. A. Schaal, *Bilderhefte*, Heft iii. Teil i. No. 14, Alinari, 23696, Giraudon. Here, Pls. XIII, XIV, from photos by Giraudon.
10. Paris, Louvre, E 700. A. Centaurs and Lapiths. B. Two eagles and fawn. *Annali*, 1863, pl. E, F.
11. London, British Museum, B 59. A. Four hoplites fighting. B. Two naked youths on horseback. Here A. Pl. XI. B. fig. 1. Prof. Studniczka tells me that the vase, Dümmler No. 12, Pottier No. 12, Endt No. 13, which is said to be in Karlsruhe, is

identical with this one, the confusion having arisen because it was sold with a number of other vases, of which some went to London and the rest to Karlsruhe. The description of Dummmler is in any case inaccurate, because he speaks of number 12 as having a fight between *two* hoplites, and of number 13 as having a fight between *six* hoplites.

13. Hague, Museum Carnegielaan, Scheurleer Collection. A. Young man holding two horses. B. Hunter and goat. Endt, *op. cit.* abb. 5, 6.
14. Viterbo, Falcioni. This vase is, according to Professor Rumpf, to be identified with No. 238 in Albizzati's *Vasi Dipinti del Vaticano*, which belongs not to the Caeretan hydriae, but to a later group of Italo-Ionian vases, which C. C. van Essen suggests to have been manufactured in Chiusi (*Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch*



FIG. 1.—BOY ON HORSEBACK: BRITISH MUSEUM B 59.

Institut te Rome, vii. 1927, p. 25 f.); it tallies, however, completely with Dummmler's description.

15. Paris, Louvre, E 697. A. Deer-hunt. B. Two winged bulls. Pottier, *op. cit.*, figs. 8, 9.
16. Paris, Louvre, E 699. A. Man between two men with horses on the front. B. Two winged Sphinxes. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, pl. 53. Here A. fig. 3 from photos kindly given me by Mrs. Beazley. B. from photo by Giraudon, Pl. XIII.

The following vases were added by Boehlau (Dummmler, *K. Schr.* iii. 272) to Dummmler's list in *Röm. Mitt.* 1888:—

17. Paris, Louvre, E 698. A. Lion-hunt. B. Eagle seizing hare. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre*, pl. 52. A. Here, fig. 2, from photo kindly given me by Mrs. Beazley.
18. London, British Museum, 1923, 4-19, I. A. Young man in chariot pursued by griffin. B. Two pairs of satyr and maenad. Endt, *op. cit.*, abb. 7, 8. Here Pls. XI, XII.¹

¹ It has been thought advisable to omit certain details on Pl. XII.

19. Berlin. A. Chariot scene. B. Hunter attacking lion, which has sprung upon a wild ass. Beazley, *Leves House Gems*, p. 24, *Ant. Denk.* ii. Pl. 28, Pfuhl, *Mal. u. Zeichn.*, fig. 151, *Br. Br.*, Text to Taf. 641-645.
20. Leipzig, Arch. Inst. T 3337. Fragments: A. Heracles and Acheloos. B. Deer-hunt. Rumpf, *Arch. Anz.* 1923-1924, p. 86 ff., fig. 21.
21. Munich, 893. Fragment with two wrestlers. Furtwangler-Reichhold, i. p. 261.
22. I know of the existence of another hydria but am not allowed to mention its whereabouts.

In addition to these hydriæ two amphoras have been attributed to the group; the one, in Philadelphia, published by Luce, *Philadelphia Cat.* 1921, p. 62, No. 43, and Bates, *Trans. Dept. Arch. Univ. Pa.* ii. 1907, pl. XL., of which we reproduce a photograph here, fig. 4, by courtesy of the Museum authorities, is of a very fine metalloid shape, not unlike an extremely elegant edition of a Nicosthenic amphora; it has no figure decoration, but is connected with the group by the rays round the shoulder and the tongues round the foot; hence, if it belongs to the group (and it might be the goal of pure shape, towards which the master is tending in the delicate curves of his later hydriæ and the freak B.M. B. 59), it concerns the master as potter, not as painter. The other, also attributed by Furtwängler (*Sitzungsber. Akad. Munich*, 1905, p. 256, no. 12) is said to be in Boston—and to be decorated with figures: Prof. Pfuhl suggests tentatively that it may be the Tyrrhenian amphora there (*Mal. u. Zeichn.*, p. 180, n. 1); Prof. Rumpf, that it is the neck amphora with lotus and palmette, on the neck and A. Youth with sword and spear, youth shaking hands with youth, boy with jug; B. Boy with wreath, youth with fawn, youth with hare (Phot. Coolidge 9761, 2), which belongs to another Italo-Ionic group.

We can now proceed to a detailed description of the new London hydria. It has been put together from fragments into a plaster hydria painted the colour of the original clay. The cracks between the fragments have been filled and painted over. Preserved are most of the scenes on the body itself and enough of the patterns on the shoulder and lower part of the body to show what they were. The shoulder is decorated with a frieze of ivy and helichryse, as in nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 15, 16, 17, 21, the side handles with tongue pattern, and the back handle with a seven-petalled palmette as in nos. 2, 11, and 13; the petals and tongues are alternately red and white. The main scene is bounded above and below by a broad black line. It is composed of a young man in a chariot, under the horses of which a dog runs. He is pursued by a griffin. His flesh is white, his hair black, his garment red. The outline of body and garment, as all outlines of parts painted red or black, is incised. Outside this outline the bluntly incised line of the first sketch can be detected. The nearest parallel to the boy's profile is that of the boy with the two horses on the Scheurleer vase (no. 13); there also the ear is identical. The question as to whether the small circle in the middle of the lobe is an earring or not is not quite easy to answer. Certainly the Greeks had a great contempt for men who wore earrings; I am indebted to Prof. Dr. A. Körte for references to Anacreon, fr. 54 (Diehl), and Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iii. 1, 31. And the instances in art where a man seems to wear an earring are capable of other explanation: in the Apollo of Sunium (*Eph. Arch.* 1917, p. 193) and the Dipylon head (Langlotz, *Bildhauerschule*, Pl. 94a) there is no earring, but the lobe is represented by two concentric circles as in the familiar S-ear of early black-figured vases. In the Kouroi, Athens, N.M. 18 (Deonna, *Les Apollons Archaiques*, no. 37, figs. 47-48), N.M. 71 (Deonna, *op. cit.*, no. 3, figs. 4-6), N.M. 15 (*B.C.H.* 1886, Pl. V),

Acropolis 624 (the Moscophoros), Delphi 'Cleobis,' Leipzig S. 463 (Rumpf, *Amelungfestschrift*, p. 218), the lobe of the ear is flattened out into a flat disk which also suggests at first sight an earring. More difficult to deal with are the Naucratic fragments, (*J.H.S.* 1924, p. 215-9, figs. 56, 63, Pl. VI, 6). But here too, as in our vase, I prefer to believe until an absolutely certain instance of a Greek man wearing an earring has been found that the dot in the middle of the lobe represents a dimple. The hair is done in a *crobilos*, as in the one of the riders in the other B.M. Vase (no. 11, fig. 2) and the Paris vase (no. 16). The other charioteer (on the Berlin vase, no. 19) wears a short chiton; as the big overhanging fold shows, it is pulled up under the girdle all round (so as not to flap in the wind), instead of only at the sides, (so as to



FIG. 2.—LION HUNT: LOUVRE E 698.

leave the legs free), as in the Berlin hunter, the Hague hunter, and the attendants of Atalanta (no. 5), or not at all, as in the rider on the deer-hunt vase (no. 15); the more energetic hunters of the Busiris vase have their chitons pulled up all round. In our vase, however, there is no trace of the bottom line of this short chiton, and the legs are painted red, so that we must assume that he is wearing the long robe, known from Attic and Corinthian vases and the charioteer at Delphi, stretching to his feet and clinging to his legs. Round his neck and over his right shoulder he has a *kibisis* or wallet; from its shape it must be made of leather, the long corners are the legs of a skin; the only other kibisis of this shape that I have found, though much bigger and covering the whole back, is that carried by the Perseus on the 'Early Attic' bowl from Aegina (Berlin, 1682; *Arch. Ztg.* xl. 1882, Pl. 9; Furtwängler, *Kl. Schr.* ii. Pl. 21). In his right hand he holds the goad and one rein, and in his left hand the other rein; the lines are hard to see, but enough remains to show that

the grip of the thumb and the two parallel lines of the forearm are the same as on the Berlin vase.

The chariot, however, is completely different from that of the Berlin vase, which is of the eight-wheeled type with high front and sides, such as is common on Clazomenian vases and sarcophagi: our chariot is of the mainland type, found in chariot races on Attic and Corinthian vases (although there always with four, not two horses), with very little superstructure and a four-spoked wheel: but this is not impossible in Ionia, for a fragment of the sima of the Ephesus Artemis temple (Hogarth, *Ephesus*, pl. xviii. 71) shows a four-spoked wheel (cf. Nachod, *Der Rennwagen bei den Italikern*, p. 42, for other parallels). The body is black, the rim of the wheel red, the spokes are white. Of the horses only the fore-legs, belly, hind-legs, and tail of the near horse; the mane, hind-legs and tail of the off horse are preserved. The near horse is black with red hoofs and tail (and probably mane). The off horse is white with black hoofs and mane, and white tail. The colour scheme of horses and chariot is the same on the Berlin vase (no. 19) except that there the tail of the off horse is black. The mane of the off horse agrees rather with the Rome Europa vase (no. 6), than with the other E.M. vase (no. 11, fig. 2), or the Berlin vase (no. 19). The dog, which is red, is like the dog which the Calydonian boar has bisected (no. 5): it is quite different from the lean, Cerberus-like hounds of the Busiris vase (no. 1). The griffin has a red tongue; the base of the wing is also red and the middle stripe white. The wings find in the 'Nike' on the Rome Europa vase (no. 6) an exact parallel, the lion body agrees in the main with the lion on the Berlin vase (no. 19), in the paws particularly the smallest details, such as the nails, can be compared.

On the back of the vase two pairs of maenad and satyr courting: note how the tails touch under the centre handle: the tails of the bulls on no. 15, and the horses on no. 3, actually cross. In the left-hand pair, the right sleeve of the chiton, the top of the right upper arm, the line of the back of the maenad, and in the right-hand pair the back of the satyr are repainted. The flesh of the maenads is white, the hair red; the hair, tail, hoofs, and phallos tip of the satyr are also red. The maenad wears a long chiton girt up at the sides, as in the afore-mentioned Berlin hunter, and in a bone figure found in the Forum Romanum (Hülsen, *Forum Romanum*, p. 102). In the maenad of the left-hand pair the folds all fall in the same direction as in the Rome Europa (no. 6). The outline of the chiton over the knee can be traced in the two small smudges of varnish which remain. In the maenad of the right-hand pair the folds fall from the centre to left and right as in the Nike of the Rome Europa vase (no. 6). For the inner markings of the satyrs compare the Vienna satyrs, the Munich wrestler, and for the knees particularly the Hagæ horse-binder; the emphasis on the wrist bone recurs on one of the negroes of Busiris (no. 1), the little incised triangle for the navel on the satyr of the Conservatori vase (no. 8). The satyr of the right-hand pair has the maenad already by the wrist.

Below the main scene is a lotus and palmette frieze; the lotus has three inner petals, two white and one red, black outer petals and white sepals (as



FIG. 3.—MAN AND HORSES: LOUVRE E 699.

in nos. 4, 15, 16, 17, 19); the palmette has only five alternately red and white petals and large volutes which have a turn more than any of the others on these vases.

This completes the description of the vase. Two questions remain: What is the subject of the representation on the front, and what is the place of the vase in the group? The larger question of the relation of the whole group to Greek art in general and Ionian art in particular is beyond the scope of this article. In the earlier descriptions of this vase the main scene is described as a young man in a chariot pursued by a griffin: Professor Pfuhl, however (*Mal. u. Zeichn.*, § 179), calls it a "dekorativ verblasster Nachklang von Apollo im Wagen mit Greifen." The griffin is Apollo's bird: in an Italo-Ionian vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale (de Ridder, 171; Giraudon, 8145, 8173; Luynes, Pl. 6. 7; *Monumenti d.I.*, ii. Pl. 18) it appears as an attendant behind the chariot of Apollo: and other monuments could be quoted for its connection with deities (see Furtwängler's article in Roscher's lexicon).

But this griffin, as the older interpreters saw, is not an attendant: the young man is fleeing as fast as he can in his chariot and the griffin is laying his claw on his back. Also what would Apollo want with a kibisis? Now if it is the peculiar charm of Corinthian vase-painting that it portrays a dramatic moment, a moment that looks both before and after, and of Laconian vase-painting that it represents the outlook and ideals of a warlike and aristocratic society (whether Spartan or not), of Chalcidian the interplay between decorative scheme and vigorous life, of Attic that its aim is the solution of the formal problems of art (cf. Prof. Rumpf's description of the difference between the feeling for form in Chalcidian and Attic painters,—*Chalk. Vasen*, i. p. 152), the peculiar charm of the master (or masters) of the Caeretan hydriae lies in his being a great descriptive artist and above all a great comic descriptive artist. He likes seeing somebody 'done in'—the Egyptians by Heracles, the white maenads by the big black satyr, the lion who is eating the wild ass by the hunter.

It is no doubt amusing to see a young man with a kibisis in a chariot being 'done in' by a griffin, but it is still more amusing when one knows who the young man is. The people who traditionally got 'done in' by griffins were the Arimaspians: Herodotus tells (iii. 116) of the one-eyed Arimaspians, who live in the extreme North and steal gold from the griffins; but he does not believe in their having one eye. Herodotus may be responsible for the wealth of representations of Arimaspians and griffins in the art of S. Italy and S. Russia at the end of the fifth century and beginning of the fourth.¹ But he also tells us (iv. 13) his source: 'Aristeas of Proconnesus in an Epic poem says that he came to the Issedones, and beyond them dwelt the one-eyed Arimaspians, and beyond them the griffins, who guard the gold.' This Aristeas is surrounded by a wealth of legend recounted by Herodotus in the next two chapters. But we have fragments of his Arimaspeia, and Suidas

¹ See list by Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.* 1924, p. 214. They are in oriental costume. On the late fifth-century mirror-back in New York (Richter, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in New York*, p. 61, No. 94), how-

ever, and on the early fifth-century gem in the Lewes House Collection (Beazley, *Lewes House Gems*, p. 24, No. 29, Pl. 2) the Arimaspi is naked.

says that he lived in the time of Croesus and Cyrus. If this story of the Arimaspians was current in Ionia in the sixth century, why should not our painter have taken it for a subject? It is just the kind of story that he liked. The fact that the Arimaspians were one-eyed would not trouble him: the boy is drawn in profile so that only one eye shows: so is the Polyphemus on B.M. B. 154 (Rumpf, *Chalk. Vasen*, Pl. CCII). He is driving away with the gold in his wallet, when he is caught by the griffin.

There remains the problem of the place of the vase in the group. First, the group itself must be arranged. Paolino Mingazzini has, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 2nd ser., iii., 1924, a classification according to the greater and less degree of Ionic polychromy in the vases: thus he groups the Busiris vase (no. 1), the



FIG. 4.—AMPHORA IN PHILADELPHIA.

return of Hephaistos (no. 7), the Hoplite battle (no. 11), the Louvre Europa (no. 5), the Louvre deer-hunt (no. 15), as Ionising and early, and the Louvre Cerberus (no. 2), the Hermes (no. 9), the Centauromachy (no. 10), the Hague vase (no. 13), the Berlin vase (remarkably described as having maenads and satyrs, no. 19), the Louvre vase with the lion-hunt (described as a wolf-hunt, no. 17), and the men with the two horses (no. 16), the Castellani vases with Europa (no. 6), and Cerberus (no. 3) as Atticising and late. But in fact I fail to see how one can regard, for instance, no. 16 (here fig. 3) as 'tending towards monochromy': the flesh is white, the garments, the manes, tails and hoofs of the horses are red, the bodies of the horses and the hair black. It is neither more nor less polychromatous than, for instance, the Louvre Europa vase (no. 5), where the flesh of Atalanta and Europa is white, the dog's entrails,

the boar's mane, the bull's neck, Europa's flower and the spots on her dress are red. The serious objection, however, is that such a classification cuts in two the classes that can be made by comparing ornaments and style. I do not see, for instance, how the Louvre deer-hunt can be separated from the Louvre lion-hunt and the vase with the men and horses—the ornamentation is exactly the same all the way through. Classification is anyway difficult, because we are dealing with only nineteen vases, probably the work of a single hand and separated by no great number of years. The only safe chronological criterion is the drapery, because that can be compared with the known development in other series and is not a purely personal matter: with this as a foundation, shape, patterns, and inner markings can be called in to assist the search. For the drapery we have two main groups—the vases where the bottom of the chiton is plain, and the vases where the bottom of the chiton shows folds: to the latter belong the Louvre Hermes vase (no. 9, here Pls. XIII, XIV), the B.M. Hoplite vase (no. 11, here Pl. XI), the Rome Alcioneus vase (no. 4), and the Berlin vase (no. 19). The chiton of the B.M. warriors and the Louvre Eos has merely a crinkled edge (in the latter broad and single, in the former narrow and double), to which lines lead from the girdle as in the Attic black-figured vase Berlin 3765: the Alcioneus' Hermes has a central fold from which the other folds radiate, but the lines of the bottom edge of the chiton are straight: in the Berlin vase they also radiate from the middle fold, but the bottom line is composed of curved instead of straight lines: then if the Alcioneus' Hermes can be compared to the Apollo of the Berlin Andocides, the Berlin Caeretan can be compared to the Andocides in Orvieto. Coll. Faina 64: it is still nearer to the black-figured vase Berlin 3274. Two more vases show folds: in the Rome Cerberus and the Paris vase with men and horses (no. 16, here fig. 3) the himation folds are parallel to those of the Hermes on the Alcioneus vase. With the Paris vase go, according to decoration (particularly the lotus stars on the neck), the Louvre lion-hunt (here fig. 2), the Louvre deer-hunt, and the Leipzig vase (as reconstructed by Rumpf), and the Scheurleer vase, which last, however, except for treatment of the horse's head, goes with the chronologically earlier group. The rest of this group hangs stylistically together. The inner markings of the leg are two parallel lines, the knees are round: the folds on the horse's neck are emphasised, its hindquarters are not, as in the earlier group, represented by three lines running right down into the leg, but by separate short lines, under which other short lines for the inner markings of the leg are drawn. This provides a concept of the late style of the master. To this group must be added the Busiris hydria (no. 1), which in inner markings is very close and also has the same neck ornament. The treatment of Heracles' hair, foreshadowed by the fringe of curls worn by the Heracles of the Vatican vase (no. 4), recurs, like the above-mentioned folds, on Attic vases of the period of transition from the black to the red-figure style, notably on the vases of the black-figured Andocides ptr. (e.g. the vase with Heracles resting). The inner markings of the Busiris vase go directly with those of the Alcioneus vase, and the dogs with the Cerberus in the Villa Giulia vase (no. 3).

With this Cerberus we are on the borders of the older group : with it in ornament go the Rome Europa (no. 6), and the Atalanta vase (no. 5). Here we have already the absence of complicated drapery, the older treatment of the horses' hind-quarters (the three lines running right down into the leg) and the less emphatic treatment of their neck folds. We have already noted the connection of our vase with the horses on the Europa and the dog on the Atalanta vase. This dog and the characteristic early treatment of animals recur on the Louvre Hermes vase (no. 4), which is also on the border line of the older period, and the Conservatori Hephaestos (no. 8) : here also belongs the Vienna Hephaestos vase (no. 7). On these vases we learn the earlier style of inner markings on the human body—the knee has a complicated angular instead of a round outline, the lines on the leg follow its contour. This enables us to place the Munich fragment (no. 21), the Scheurleer vase (no. 13), which may well be called transitional, and the London vase with the Arimasp (no. 18) in the same group. The other London vase (no. 11), I believe, is contemporary with the Louvre Cerberus vase (no. 2), and forms a link between the earlier and the later group. There remains the Paris Centaur vase (no. 10). I believe this also belongs to the early group : the inner markings of the Centaur agree well with the Rome Europa vase.

Dare we attempt to reconstruct the life of this artist ? He was an Ionian living in Etruria, acquainted with, if not himself a painter of, the pictures in Etruscan tombs. In his early works his interest was concentrated on telling a story : he had nothing left for the form of the vase : this is the period of Atalanta and Europa, of the Arimasp and the Return of Hephaestos and (right at the end) the Louvre Hermes, all admirable stories, but all clumsy vases. Then he is inspired, it may well be, by imported Attic vases of the transition period, to progress in two directions—first the development of the vase itself as an art form, and, secondly, the representation of the human body no longer as mere mass but as an organised whole ; parallel with this runs his treatment of drapery, as a useful chronological index. In the critical period of this development, whose extremes can be seen in the Philadelphia Amphora in the direction of form and in the figures on the Vatican Alcioneus vase in the direction of athleticism, he was too much occupied to produce the great descriptive scenes of his youth : he falls back on the horse-binder and the warrior's farewell, the deer-hunt and the lion-hunt. But when he has achieved a canonical shape for his hydria and formulated anew the rules for his figure-drawing, he finally produces the great masterpiece, in which all his best qualities are united, the Busiris vase.

It only remains for me to thank the authorities of the British Museum and the Louvre for the permission to reproduce the vases in their charge, Mrs. Dohan for a photograph of the Philadelphia amphora, Mrs. Beazley for photographs of the fronts of Louvre E698-9, and above all Prof. J. D. Beazley and Prof. Dr. A. Rumpf for their great kindness in reading this through in manuscript and for the many valuable suggestions that they have made.

T. B. L. WEBSTER.

THE HELLENISTIC RULER-CULT AND THE DAEMON ¹

My excuse for adding another item to the literature of the Hellenistic ruler-cult is that two new ideas have recently come into prominence.² One is that the founder of the official ruler-cult was not Ptolemy II but Alexander; the other is that what was worshipped was not the ruler himself but his daemon. The former idea originated with Dr. P. Schnabel, and was derived by him from a new interpretation of the *proskynesis* scene at Bactra; he argued that Chares' account in Plutarch (*Alexander* 54) showed that the *proskynesis* was made to a statue of Alexander standing on an altar (*ἑστία*) among the hearth-gods: whether Macedonians in the fourth century *had* hearth-gods he did not consider, but quoted Roman analogies of a later time. This idea has been much criticised, and I know of no one but Professor L. R. Taylor who has accepted it; in particular, Professor Berve has made a strong case for preferring Arrian's version of the *proskynesis* scene. But, in fact, Schnabel's interpretation of Chares was killed dead at once by Dr. Th. Birt, though this has not been much noticed, perhaps because it only needed one sentence: Chares in the same passage makes Demetrius say to Alexander οὗτος γάρ σε μόνος οὐ προσεκύνησε, where the word *σε* is conclusive that the *proskynesis* was made to Alexander (and not to a statue on an altar). Those who appeal to Chares must go to Chares. Therewith the whole basis of Schnabel's reconstruction vanished; indeed he abandoned it himself (though I doubt if he saw this) when at the end of his second article he accepted Birt's contention that in the crucial passage in Plutarch (πρὸς ἑστίαν ἀναστῆναι καὶ πίνοντα προσκυνῆσαι πρῶτον εἶτα φιλῆσαι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον) προσκυνῆσαι must govern Ἀλέξανδρον (as πρῶτον εἶτα demands). which is in effect an acceptance of the view that the *proskynesis* was made to Alexander and not to a statue on an altar. But Schnabel did good service, as Professor Kaerst has emphasised (p. 572), in calling attention to the mention of a *ἑστία* in Chares-Plutarch as a thing which required elucidation; and the

¹ I desire to thank Mr. A. D. Nock for kindly reading the first draft of this paper and supplying me with a number of valuable suggestions and references (the latter marked A. D. N.), which have greatly improved it.

² Literature here referred to: P. Schnabel, *Die Begründung des hellenistischen Königtums durch Alexander*, *Klio*, xix. 1924, p. 113; *Zur Frage der Selbstvergötterung Alexanders*, *ib.* xx. 1926, p. 398. Th. Birt, *Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum*, 1924, pp. 491-3. H. Berve, *Die angebliche*

Begründung des hellenistischen Königtums durch Alexander, *Klio*, xx. 1926, p. 179; *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, vol. i. 1926, pp. 339-40. W. Otto, *Zum Hofzeremoniell des Hellenismus*, *Επιτύμβιον* H. Swoboda dargebracht, 1927, p. 194. J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, vol. i. 3rd ed., 1927, Beilage VIII: *Proskynese und Herrscherkult*. Lily Ross Taylor, *The 'Proskynesis' and the Hellenistic Ruler-cult*, *J.H.S.* xlvii. 1927, p. 53; *The Cult of Alexander at Alexandria*, *Class. Phil.* XXII. 1927, p. 162.

elucidation has now been provided by Professor Otto, who has brilliantly shown that the function of the *εστία* in question was to carry the eternal fire which burnt before the Persian kings.³ Schnabel's attempt to make Alexander the author of the official ruler-cult was interesting; but nothing remains of it to-day.

About the same time as Otto's article there appeared in this *Journal* an article by Professor Taylor (see n. 2), based on Schnabel's ideas, which has attracted a good deal of attention. So far as it merely adopts Schnabel's view of the origin of the ruler-cult it is obviously in no better case than Schnabel himself; but it goes much beyond that. Schnabel had adopted and applied to Alexander a suggestion, made by at least two previous writers,⁴ that in the ruler-cult the object of worship was not the king but his daemon, and Miss Taylor took up the question of the worship of Alexander's daemon and elaborated it on two different lines. She sought to show that Persians had worshipped the daemon (*i.e.* the *fravashi*) of the Achaemenid kings, and therefore Alexander only continued an Achaemenid usage; and she considered afresh the banquet scene at Bactra, with a view to reinforcing, by a different line of argument, Schnabel's idea that Alexander was author of the ruler-cult. Both lines of argument merit examination; neither, I think, can survive it. The real interest of the matter lies in the bearing which Miss Taylor's conclusions, if correct, might have on the theory of Alexander's divine world-kingdom.

I will take the *fravashi* first. Not being a Persian scholar, I must believe that there is good reason for reading back into the Achaemenid period the *fravashi* of Sassanian times, and consequently that an Achaemenid king had a *fravashi*, called *δαίμων* by Greeks. Naturally I am unable to say myself what the *fravashi* of Achaemenid times may have been⁵; but the Greek *δαίμων* in Alexander's day was still something external to the man, which 'took' him from the outside, as it were⁶; it had not yet become, as it became later, part of, or an expression of, his personality. But Persian worship of the *fravashi* of the living Achaemenid king, which is the point, is another matter; it is not claimed that there is any Persian evidence for this, and it depends solely on the Greek evidence put forward by Miss Taylor. I will take her passages in detail.

Arr. *Anab.* vi, 29, 7 (Aristobulus). There was at Cyrus' tomb, in Alexander's day, a cult of Cyrus, said to have been founded by Cambyses, *i.e.* after Cyrus' death. This cult was, in fact, being given to him as *κτιστής* of the dynasty; the idea may or may not have been taken from the Greek cult of the *ἥρωες κτιστής*, with which Persians were probably familiar.⁷ It is very

³ The conclusive evidence that he is right (which he does not quote) is the fire on the *εσάρα* before Alexander's throne in Eumenes' Alexander-tent, Diod. xviii. 61, 1. See n. 52.

⁴ Fr. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult in Altertum*, vol. 2, 1912, pp. 529, 585; W. Weber, *Der Prophet und sein Gott*, 1925, p. 127.

⁵ To Miss Taylor's references for the *fravashi* add some interesting definitions quoted by Elizabeth C. Spooner, *J.R.A.S.*,

1916, p. 497. But I apprehend that the nature of the Achaemenid *fravashi*, if one existed, is unknown.

⁶ Andres, *δαίμων* in P. W. Supp. III, 1918. Menander's lines show that the daemon was still an external thing,—*ἀνδρὶ συμπάσισταται*.

⁷ Herod. vii. 43, where the context shows that the *ἥρωες* to whom Xerxes at Troy poured libations were not, as C. Clemen thought (*Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*,

interesting; but it has no bearing on the question of the worship of the living ruler or of his daemon.

App. *Mith.* 66. The much-quoted passage which describes how the kings of Pontus sacrificed to Zeus Stratios on a hill-top, while below the hill they spread a table for the spectators: Appian adds *οἷόν τι καὶ ἐν Πασαργάδαις ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος*, 'the Persian kings have the same sort of sacrifice in Pasargadae.' I do not know how Miss Taylor has seen in this passage 'testimony for the worship which the Persians gave to their dead kings at the royal tombs of the Achaemenids in Pasargadae. Regular sacrifices, Appian tells us, were made at the tombs.' (He never mentions tombs.) It is quite clear that the whole thing has nothing to do with the worship of any man, living or dead; the meaning of the passage is not in doubt, and the words *ἐστὶ τοῖς Περσῶν βασιλεῦσι θυσίας γένος* cannot, as a matter of Hellenistic Greek, mean 'a sacrifice to the Persian kings.' I ought, however, to notice the present tense *ἐστὶ*, as some may feel a difficulty over this.⁸ I suppose it is possible that Appian is referring to the kings of Persis of his own day, as *e.g.* Justin is supposed sometimes to refer to the Sassanians⁹; but I doubt this myself, and would prefer to suppose that he is merely reproducing the tense of his source, *i.e.* that he is back in the past. Greek writers do get back into the past; a good instance is Arrian, *Ind.* 43. 1-10, where Arrian becomes a contemporary of Eratosthenes and the intervening centuries have not yet occurred¹⁰; and Appian, who could refer to the long extinct Ptolemaic dynasty as 'my kings,'¹¹ may well for a moment be back in the past also.

As regards the next passage—Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 151: *θητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνοῦντες καὶ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες*—Miss Taylor has since recognised that it has nothing to do with any cult of the Persian king's daemon.¹² It is merely a statement, at the end of a piece of propaganda, that Persians addressed the king as daemon. The world has long agreed that Aeschylus made a mistake in thinking that the Achaemenids were gods¹³; and no doubt Kaerst's explanation of how Isocrates came by his error is correct.¹⁴

The two remaining passages do mention the king's daemon.

Theopompus *ap.* Athen. vi, 252 A, B. Nicostratus of Argos (who commanded Ochus' Argive contingent in the Egyptian campaign of 343/2) when he dined spread a separate table which he called 'for the king's daemon'; he had heard that the Persians about the doors (of the palace) did this, and he thought it would win him favour with the king. My first idea was that 'the Persians

1920, p. 81), the lesser Zoroastrian gods, but Greek heroes (so R. W. Macan *ad loc.*, and see his remarks on the Persian attitude toward Greek cults). In Arrian, *Parthica* fr. 1, Alexander is similarly *κυιστής*.

⁸ Suggested to me by A. D. Nock.

⁹ Clemen, *op. cit.* p. 175.

¹⁰ See the present writer in *Class. Rev.* xl. 1926, p. 14, and in a forthcoming article, *Ptolemy II and Arabia*, in *J.E.A.*, 1929.

¹¹ *Prooim.* 10.

¹² *J. H. S.* xlviii. 1928, p. 6.

¹³ The latest study, S. Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses*, vi. 1928, 1 [A.D.N.], which shows that the whole of the necromancy of the *Persae* can be explained from the Greek, speaks (p. 6) of 'Aischylos' astonishing ignorance—or complete negligence—of Persian affairs.'

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 575: he interpreted *proskynesis* as worship, as a Greek would. The similar error in Curtius, viii. 5, 18, 11, probably, as the context suggests, arose from the same reason.

about the doors' were the palace eunuchs; but I much prefer a suggestion made to me by Mr. Nock, that they were people approaching the palace with petitions, who sought thus to win favour: 'then the act is pure *Höflichkeit*—His Majesty will deign to be spiritually present.' Certainly, in either case, the spreading of the table for the daemon to dine cannot by itself import worship; it is merely a method of courting the good graces of the absent king. It is to be noted that Ochus only secured Argos' help for this particular campaign, and it does not follow that Nicostrates had ever been in Persia, or that his hearsay was worth much; his act took place during the campaign, and Theopompus is correct in calling it 'flattery,' more extreme than that shown by the other generals of the army of invasion (τοὺς τότε στρατείας μετασχόντας).

Plutarch *Artax.* 15 (? from Ctesias). This describes a dinner at which were present the eunuchs of Artaxerxes II and Parysatis, the Persian noble Mithridates, and the host, ὁ ἐστιῶν. I had doubts whether the host and Parysatis' chief eunuch were not the same person; but Mr. Nock has convinced me that the host was probably another noble who had invited the eunuchs for the sake of their good offices at Court. At the dinner Mithridates boasted that he had slain Cyrus. The company, foreseeing what would happen to him and fearing to be held accessory to his conversation, εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔκνυψαν, i.e. made *proskynesis* to the absent king, which was all they could do; thereon the host, for the same reason, suggested that they should not touch on matters too great for them, and added the words Miss Taylor quotes: 'Let us eat and drink, τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυνοῦντες,' as they were already doing. They were trying, as Nicostratus tried, to secure the good graces of the absent king.

What now does the act import? If, as everyone hitherto has for good reason agreed, *proskynesis* before the actual Persian king was not an act of worship, how can *proskynesis* in the king's absence be an act of worship? To make this out, it would have to be argued that the king's *fravashi* was supposed to be present, that it was divine, and that the *proskynesis* at the dinner was necessarily an act of worship *because* it was made to a divine thing. But nobody knows anything about the *fravashi* of an Achaemenid king, or what it was; its existence at all is only a deduction. All that the passage means is that the writer, whether the actual wording be that of Ctesias or of Plutarch himself, is expressing a symbolical act of a foreign people in the only language open to him; the act was an improvisation of the moment, due to fear in a sudden crisis; it has nothing to do with any worship or cult of the king's daemon. If I may quote Mr. Nock once more, it comes to this: 'The King *has* been delivered from his enemies; we won't say anything indiscreet; but we'll eat and drink in loyal homage, with all proper respect ¹⁵ to his Majesty's good luck.'

All that these two passages, in fact, come to is that the actors (or writers) are treating the absent king as symbolically present: the point is that the king, unlike Alexander at Bactra, was not there himself. It is quite clear that neither passage can afford any foundation for the supposition that there was in Persia

¹⁵ For προσκυνεῖν merely in the sense of ἀλήθειαν [A.D.N.]. So Jos. *Ant.* xii. 114, 'respect' or 'reverence' cf. Eunap. *Hist. Erc.* 89, 10, ἀκρίβειαν τε προσεκύνησε καὶ Ptolemy II προσκυνήσας αὐτοῖς, i.e. the sacred books.

any general worship or cult of the king's daemon, such as Alexander might know of or be influenced by; that is what matters.

The idea that there was a Persian worship of the daemon of the living Achaemenid which played its part in bringing about a worship of Alexander's daemon is not then supported by evidence. I come to the scene at Bactra; and here I am afraid I must assume that pp. 59 and 60 of Miss Taylor's article are present to the reader's mind, as I cannot copy them out. Briefly, the argument is that the meaning of the scene was the salutation according to Persian practice of Alexander's daemon; the cup passed round was the cup of the well-known Greek toast *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*, and Alexander, or his daemon (I am not sure which), was identified with the divine *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων*. Alexander was also the wine; and the argument finally leads to the startling—and to me I confess repellent—conclusion that the generals that night at Bactra were drinking symbolically the blood of Alexander; 'the ceremony' she says, 'seems to be a form of communion service.' Her interpretation of the scene depends entirely on these two identifications of Alexander with *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* and the wine; if they break down the whole is gone.

Before I come to these identifications, however, there is a very important preliminary question to be considered: why should we suppose that the Greek custom of concluding a dinner—passing round a cup of unmixed wine from which each guest took a sip, saying as he did so *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*—had been adopted by Alexander? It cannot merely be *assumed* that it was a Macedonian custom also; for something is known about Macedonian customs at dinner, and what is known is quite inconsistent with the idea that this Greek custom had been adopted, even so late as the early third century. A long and minutely detailed account of a Macedonian dinner—Karanos' wedding feast—early in the third century is given in a letter by the Macedonian Hippolochus to Douris' brother Lynceus, who was collecting such things for his book on gastronomy; there is no mention of the *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος* or any other toast at the end of the dinner or elsewhere, or of any cup passing round. We get something quite different; the guests go on dining until a trumpeter 'sounded the usual signal that dinner was over, which, as you know, is the Macedonian custom where there are a number of people at dinner.'¹⁶ Karanos' guests, in fact, numbered twenty; there must have been far more than twenty at Bactra; and it is a legitimate inference that Alexander made a similar use of a trumpeter, because we know that not only did he usually employ a trumpeter but that he made a still further use of him. For Chares—and on this matter Chares the chamberlain is good evidence—says that he employed a trumpeter at dinner, not only at the wedding feast at Susa, but always whenever he made a libation, so that all the army might know.¹⁷ Now if, whenever Alexander made a libation at dinner, a trumpet blew so that the army, hearing, might mentally associate themselves with the act of worship

¹⁶ Athen. iv. 128A—130D. See 130B, ἕως ἐσάλπισε τὸ εἰωθὸς τοῦ τελευταίου δείπνου σημείον. οὕτω γὰρ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν οἶσθα ἔθος ἐν τοῖς πολυανθρώποις εὐχαίαις γινόμενον.

¹⁷ *Ib.* xii. 538D: ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δείπνα πρὸς σάλπγγα τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις καὶ ἄλλως δ' αἰεὶ

ὅτε τύχοι σπονδοποιούμενος, ὥστε πᾶν εἰδέναι τὸ στρατόπεδον. I do not suppose that Alexander's use of a trumpet has anything to do with the (suggested) occasional use of a trumpet in initiation; S. Eitrem, *Symb. Osloenses*, iv. 1926, p. 57.

involved, the idea that he ever made a libation (and the ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος toast was a libation) in the form of passing round a cup to be sipped by all the company seems definitely excluded; any libation he made must have been a single definite act, such as a trumpet could announce. There is evidence of this in the feast at Opis, where he and 9000 Macedonians made a libation together, which could only be done by signal; this was merely an extension of the practice of the army associating themselves mentally with the act of libation. But—and this is more important—at this same banquet he and the friends immediately around him made another libation; this was done, not by passing round a cup, but by each drawing a portion of wine for himself from a great bowl¹⁸; obviously all then made libation simultaneously at a signal. I may add that when, on starting down the Hydaspes, he poured libations in view of the fleet and army, the conclusion of the ceremony was announced by trumpet¹⁹; and doubtless from this regular use of a trumpet arose the Oriental legend of the ‘Horn of Alexander.’ In view of this evidence, it cannot be supposed that Greek dinner customs were being practised that night at Bactra unless there were explicit evidence of the fact, which is not the case; and Miss Taylor’s whole argument from the ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος toast or libation must fall to the ground.

I might stop here; but I should like to consider her two identifications in themselves. First, Alexander as the wine. I am afraid this is due to a misunderstanding. The evidence adduced is Callisthenes’ supposed remark (I will assume here for the moment that he made it), οὐδὲν δέομαι (or οὐ βούλομαι) πίων Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀσκληπιοῦ δεῖσθαι,²⁰ and the comment is: ‘The use of πίων with the genitive, the regular case for the drink taken, indicates that Alexander and the wine were identical’; then follows the remark about the communion service. But, beside the genitive sometimes—not regularly—used of the drink taken, there is another genitive, that of the person (or god or king) whose health is drunk; it is the same distinction as in English between drinking wine and drinking ‘The King,’ and πίων Ἀλεξάνδρου merely means drinking Alexander’s health. Perhaps I may explain the Greek custom of drinking healths, as I have not found it explained anywhere. Whether the Macedonian custom was the same I do not know, but Callisthenes, a Greek, would, of course, allude to drinking a health in the way familiar to him. The Greek custom was this: as you ladled wine into the cup you said aloud, in the genitive, whom it was for or whom each ladle was for, and repeated the same name or names in the genitive as you drank. Alexis, *Krateuas*, fr. 111 (Kock, II, p. 336): the speaker tells his slave to pour in four ladles saying τῶν παρόντων, three saying ἔρωτος, one saying Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως, one Δημητρίου, one Φίλας Ἀφροδίτης, and then remarks to the company that he has filled the cup with good things. Alexis, *Hypobolimaios*, fr. 244 (K. II, p. 386): the speaker has poured in four ladles Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς τ’ ἀδελφῆς and two τῆς Ὀμονοίας (i.e. the Entente recently

¹⁸ Arr. *Anab.* vii. 11, 8–9 (both libations).

¹⁹ *Ib.* vi. 3, 1–2.

²⁰ Plut. *Mor.* 454 E and 623 F (quoted by Plutarch as a story from a collection of gossip about drinking); Athen. x. 434 D,

attributed primarily to Lynceus, the third-century writer on gastronomy, and secondarily to Aristobulus and Chares; Chares is certainly wrong (see *post*), so Aristobulus may be wrong also.

concluded between Athens and Egypt).²¹ Diphilus, *Sappho*, fr. 69 (K. II, p. 564): the cup is *μεστήν Διὸς Σωτήρος, Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος*, i.e. these names have been pronounced when filling it. Nicostratus, *Pandrosos*, fr. 20 (K. II, p. 225): the speaker tells his slave to pour in *Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος*, and the slave says *Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος* as he does so. The cup then passed round, each as he drank repeating the names. *Ἀλεξάνδρου πιών* then means drinking 'Alexander,' i.e. his health; I may remark, as a *reductio ad absurdum*, that if it could mean drinking his blood, then the character in the *Hypobolimaïos* was drinking the blood of the Entente Cordiale. It is unfortunate too that Miss Taylor's misunderstanding of the custom should have led her to the further statement (p. 60), for which the sole authority quoted is the above fragment of the *Hypobolimaïos*, that 'the ceremony' of the salutation of the king's daemon 'went down to the Hellenistic kings.' Alexis is not talking about any ceremony; he is making a character in a stage-play drink the health of Ptolemy II and the new Entente. Such healths have nothing to do with worship; the character in the *Krateuas* was not worshipping his guests (*τῶν παρόντων*).

Perhaps I may here clear up the matter of Alexander's cup. Miss Taylor says (p. 60): 'Obviously the cup of *ἄκρατον* from which all drank is the toast to *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων*.' [We have seen that this is an unfounded assumption.] 'Plutarch, in a reference to this same scene (*Mor.* 454 E, 623 F), calls it *κύλιξ λεγομένη Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλη*. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that Alexander and *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* were identical.' The cup, that is, was Alexander's in the sense of *φιάλη ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος*,²² *μετανιπτρίς ὑγιείας*,²³ and similar expressions, which mean, not a cup which was the property of the god *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* or the goddess *Ὑγίεια*, but a cup from which the company drank the toast *ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος* or *ὑγιείας*.²⁴ This is impossible. Plutarch, when he says 'the cup called Alexander's big cup,' means exactly what he says; for we know the history of that big gold cup. Alexander used it on great occasions (and the banquet at Bactra was meant to be a great occasion, though it misfired). He used it, for instance, for the libations when the fleet was starting down the Hydaspes²⁵; and it ended its career when, after a libation to Poseidon, he flung it into the Indian Ocean,²⁶ praying the sea to bring Nearchus and the fleet safely home. The cup used at Bactra was this gold cup²⁷; and what it was doing there was simply this, that it was passed round for the generals to drink Alexander's health; even a private man would bring out his big cup, if he

²¹ W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 171; Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 268, n. 27. Whether in l. 5 we read *δύο* (Kaibel, Meineke) or *διὰ* (Kock following Cod. Marcianus of Athen. xi. 502 B) is immaterial here; if the latter, it only means that *τῆς Ὀμονοίας* is included in the four ladles *Πτολεμαίου τῆς τ' ἀδελφῆς*.

²² Xenarchus, fr. 2 (Kock, II. p. 468).

²³ Kock, I, p. 695; II. pp. 220, 224, 230. See generally Athen. xv. 692 F *sqq.*

²⁴ Following this, K. Scott in *A. J. Phil.* XLIX. 1928, p. 154 has explained the cups

Antigonis and Seleucis as those in which men toasted these kings. But Polemon (Athen. xi. 497 F) says *ποτήρια παραπλήσια Σελευκίς, Ῥοδιάς, Ἀντιγονίς*. Did men really drink the health of the city of Rhodes? Wellington boots or an Albert chain might be a better parallel.

²⁵ Arr. *Anab.* vi. 3, 1, *ἐκ χρυσῆς φιάλης ἔσπενδεν ἐς τὸν πόταμον*.

²⁶ *Ib.* vi. 19, 5, *σπείσας . . . τὴν φιάλην, χρυσὴν οὖσαν, ἐνέβαλλεν ἐς τὸν πόντον κ.τ.λ.*

²⁷ Chares *ap.* Arr. *Anab.* iv. 12, 3: *φιάλην χρυσήν*.

had one, when important healths were toward.²⁸ Nothing turns on the wine in it being unmixed, beyond the known facts that the generals were a hard-drinking crowd and that the water in Turkestan was very bad; just as nothing turns on the fact that Greeks drank ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος in unmixed wine and Διὸς Σωτήρος in wine and water. But Greeks as a rule disliked drinking unmixed wine; and Callisthenes was thus able to veil his refusal to drink 'The King' by saying that if he drank Alexander's health [in unmixed wine] he would be ill. If the drinking was anything more than a mere health, then it had some relation to the eternal fire on the ἐστία (πρὸς ἐστίαν ἀναστῆναι καὶ πίνοντα).

I have treated this supposed remark of Callisthenes as if it were true, because of the use Miss Taylor makes of it; but as a matter of history the remark was probably never made, for Chares in both versions²⁹ is clear that Callisthenes *did* drink, and the sources for the remark (see n. 20) belong only to the later literature of gastronomy. It is a somewhat unfortunate peg on which to hang a far-reaching theory.

I come now to Alexander as Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων. As regards the banquet at Bactra the equation, based solely on the mistake about the health and the wine, has already broken down: in fact there is no reason to suppose that Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων was ever even mentioned at Bactra. Certainly by the fourth, and probably by the early fifth, century a personal though somewhat vague entity called Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων had been evolved from the impersonal banqueting cry ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος³⁰; but Miss Taylor's argument about the scene at Bactra is based on the ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος toast, which was and remained impersonal.³¹ In fact the identification of Alexander with Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, if made at all, must mean an identification, not with the Greek Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, but with Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων of Alexandria. This has more than once been suggested as a possibility³²; and Miss Taylor in her second paper (*Class. Phil.* xxii. p. 162) has sought to prove it from a passage in Pseudo-Callisthenes. It is not suggested that this identification can have taken place before the scene at Bactra, and therefore it can have no bearing on the question of Alexander's attitude there toward the assumption of divinity; it is a separate question, though it bears on the matter of the king's daemon. Agathodaemon at Alexandria was an old chthonian god of the soil, who in the form of a snake lived there before Alexander came. I have not discovered how old the name Agathodaemon at

²⁸ Alexis, fr. 111 (Kock, II. p. 336): παῖ, τὴν μεγάλην δός. So Antiphanes, *Didymi* (K., II. p. 44).

²⁹ Plut. *Alex.* 54; Arr. *Anab.* iv. 12. 3-4.

³⁰ For the impersonal cry, and this evolution, see Ganshinietz, *Agathodaimon* in P. W. Supp. III. 1918. He gives no certain pre-Hellenistic instance of the personal Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων. But personification by the fourth century is certain, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II. 1125, 1126 [A.D.N.]; while the red-figured vase cited by Miss Taylor, p. 59, n. 28 (not dated by Benndorf), is in the opinion of Mr. Hinks of the British

Museum (communicated to Nock) early fifth century.

³¹ The English translation of a toast like ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος or ὑγείας would be some impersonal phrase, like 'Here's good luck' or 'Here's good health.' In the Highlands to-day, if you hand a man your flask, he always drinks in the impersonal form, 'Here's good health'; possibly because an impersonal health is (my wife tells me) common in Gaelic.

³² Kaerst, *op. cit.* p. 574; Berve, *Alexanderreich*, I. p. 340.

Alexandria was (it cannot, of course, be earlier than Alexander) or what connection if any there was between the Greek Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων evolved from the banqueting cry and the snake. But Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων always remained rather a vague term which might be tacked on to anyone, like Poseidon,³³ who was a god, or Crates the Cynic, who was not; the notice chalked on doors at Athens—εἰσοδὸς Κράτητι, Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι³⁴—means no more than ‘Come in, Crates; you’re our good genius.’ It was a natural term to transfer to the good genius of Alexandria, the earth-snake; and there is no reason why it should not have been applied to Alexander also; it is merely a question of evidence whether it was.

The only evidence so far adduced is Miss Taylor’s interpretation of the Romance, a work which, though worthless for Alexander’s acts, may be evidence for Alexandrian cults. The story³⁵ is that Alexander, when founding Alexandria, met and killed the snake, recognised him as Agathodaemon, and built him a temple (the temple is historical). Out of this temple came snakes who went into the houses and were worshipped by the people as Agathodaemones; in connexion with their establishment in the houses, A has *θυσία τελεῖται αὐτῷ τῷ ἥρωι*,³⁶ ‘sacrifice is offered to the Hero himself.’ The Armenian version adds after ἥρωι the words *ὡς ὀφιογενεῖ*, ‘because he (the Hero) was of the race of snakes.’ Miss Taylor argues that the ‘serpent-born’ Hero must be Alexander, because of the familiar story of Olympias and the snake; it is not explained why Pseudo-Callisthenes, who always calls him Alexander, should suddenly adopt another name. Miss Taylor, who relies on Ausfeld,³⁷ supports her view by another passage; after the story that on 25 Tybi the people garland the beasts of burden, the Armenian version is said to add, ‘and offer sacrifice to the god-begotten one.’ It seems, however, that Ausfeld had not got this correctly; for Kroll, whose text has *θυσιάζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς δαίμοσι τοῖς προνοουμένοις τῶν οἰκιῶν*, gives in his apparatus, following *θυσιάζεσθαι δέ*, ‘fort. recte τῷ ἥρωι καὶ θρησκεύειν τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς προν. Arm. (Val.)’; that is, the term ‘god-begotten’ is not in the Armenian at all.³⁸ But that the Hero is the dead snake is certain; for not only does the Armenian version (which Kroll rates highly) say so in another place,³⁹ but this Hero is also mentioned elsewhere. In a list of strange sacrifices given by Sextus Empiricus, after the sacrifice of a man to Cronos comes the sacrifice of a cat to the Hero at Alexandria⁴⁰; had the writer meant Alexander here he must have said so, and

³³ Inscription quoted from Botti by A. Schiff, *Hirschfeld's Festschrift*, p. 377, n. 5.

³⁴ Quoted by Ganshinietz, *op. cit.* 39, from the Emperor Julian; Diog. Laert. vi. 5, 81 bears it out.

³⁵ Pseudo-Callisthenes I. 32, 5 *sqq.* I use W. Kroll's text, *Historia Alexandri Magni*, Vol. I. 1926.

³⁶ Kroll, p. 32, l. 24. B omits the whole passage.

³⁷ *Rh. Mus.* LV. 1900, p. 354.

³⁸ Kroll, p. 33, l. 6. As he here quotes the Armenian version in Greek, I presume (see p. viii) that he takes it from Raabe's

Ἱστορία Ἀλεξάνδρου (the Armenian translated into Greek), which he praises. Unfortunately this book is not accessible to me.

³⁹ Kroll, p. 32, l. 18: text, *καθιδρυμένου δὲ τοῦ ἥρώου* (the snake's temple); apparatus, ‘*ιδρυμένου δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ ἥρωος τούτου*, (Arm.)’. Nothing has previously been mentioned to which *τούτου* can refer except the snake.

⁴⁰ *Pyrrh. hypot.* III. 24 (221): *αἰλουρον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τῷ ἥρωι θύουσιν, ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειε τις*. See Th. Hopfner, *Fontes historiae religionis aegyptiacae*, 1922, p. 383.

Hopfner's brief note: "Ἡρωι (Ψοί = Ἀγαθοδαίμωνι) is certainly correct.⁴¹ Agathodaemon is properly described as a Hero; subsequently he had a ἡρώων at Thebes⁴²; in later Greek ἡρώς and δαίμων were sometimes used as interchangeable terms, as in Pausanias' story (vi. 6, 7-11) of the Hero at Temesa.

Meanwhile there is one definite piece of evidence, which belongs either to the second half of the third century or the first half of the second century B.C., which seems to me strong against any theory that Agathodaemon was then identified with Alexander. The Egyptian who wrote the first part of Column II of the Potter's Oracle⁴³ prophesied that the city on the sea (Alexandria) would become a place for fishermen to dry their nets διὰ τὸ [τ]ὸν Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα καὶ Κνήφιν εἰ[s M]έμφιν πεπορευῆσθαι; i.e. the gods of Egypt will quit Alexandria for the old capital, and Alexander's city will be so utterly destroyed that some who pass by will say αὕτη πόλις ἦν παντοτρόφος κ.τ.λ. To the Egyptian who wrote this, Agathodaemon was, like Cneph, one of his own gods; he could not gloat over the coming ruin of Alexander's city and make Alexander about to inaugurate a golden age for Egyptians (καὶ τότε ἡ Αἴγυπτος αὐξηθήσεται) by coming to Memphis; he knew nothing of any connexion of Agathodaemon with Alexander at all. The writer of the Romance seemingly knew this oracle; and as, instead of contradicting it, he quotes it,⁴⁴ we get further confirmation of the fact that the Romance too does not identify Alexander with Agathodaemon; in the circumstances, had the writer of the Romance desired to identify them, he must have done so plainly and specifically.

There is another legend,⁴⁵ probably Jewish, in which Alexander, far from being the snake Agathodaemon, is a snake-master, lord of the Agathodaemones. He had snakes of his own, of a beneficent kind, which he brought to Egypt with him. In one version these succeeded in killing off the poisonous snakes of the country, which were assembled at the tomb of the prophet Jeremiah; in the other version they were unable to manage it till Jeremiah himself lent a hand. These beneficent snakes, called ἀργολαί in one version, are called Agatho-

⁴¹ See the magical papyrus *P. Osloensis*, I. 3, and thereon C. Preisendanz, *Symb. Osloenses*, IV. 1926, p. 60; it gives the metamorphoses of Psois (as the sun in the zodiac), and the first is a cat, ὥρα ἃ μορφήν ἔχεις αἰλούρου, which illustrates the cat sacrifice.

⁴² Suidas, s.v. Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος.

⁴³ Col. II. ll. 2 sqq. The most recent text is that of R. Reitzenstein and H. H. Schaeder, *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus aus Iran und Griechenland*, 1926, pp. 39, 40 [A.D.N.], based on that of U. Wilcken. *Hermes*, xl. 1905, p. 544. They date it in the reign of Antiochus IV; W. Struve, *Raccolta Lumbroso*, 1925, p. 273, dates it in the reign of Ptolemy III.

⁴⁴ Shown by a parallel, not I think noticed. The Oracle, Col. II. l. 4: αὕτη π[ό]λις ἦν παντοτρόφος, [εἰ]ς ἣν [κ]ατοικίσθη πᾶν

γένος ἀνδρῶν; the Romance, I. 32. 4: αὕτη ἡ πόλις κτισθείσα ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην θρέψει καὶ πανταχοῦ ἔσονται οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθέντες ἄνθρωποι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ πετεινὰ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην περιπορεύσαντο. As I understand this passage, πανταχοῦ goes with γεννηθέντες (= πᾶν γένος of the Oracle) and not with ἔσονται,—the men who shall be in Alexandria shall be men born everywhere, for those birds (i.e. the birds who had just eaten the meal with which the city was marked out) went round (aorist, a single definite act) the whole oecumene (i.e. on their way to the city). It means that men from all the oecumene will come to the city in the track of the birds; as in fact they had done before Pseudo-Callisthenes wrote.

⁴⁵ Suidas, s.v. ἀργόλαι: the Ethiopian legend of Jeremiah (I only know this as quoted by Ganshinietz, *op. cit.* 52).

daemones in the other; one recalls that the Egyptians did, in fact, cherish harmless snakes called Agathodaemones in their houses.⁴⁶

One object of Miss Taylor's second article was, by identifying Alexander with the Hero of the Romance, to show that Alexander was worshipped at the shrines of the good genii of the houses, the Agathodaemones snakes, and thus reinforce Schnabel's theory of Alexander among the hearth-gods. With the failure of the preliminary identification the basis of her article is gone, and I need not follow it further; while the idea of Alexander among the hearth-gods is dead, and rightly so, for it was based solely on Roman analogies of a much later time, *i.e.* certain phenomena of the worship of Augustus. Berve has already said what was necessary about this business of trying to read back from the Roman Empire to Alexander,⁴⁷ and I entirely agree; it is not the way to write history. But if we rule out, as historical method, the application to Alexander of considerations drawn from the worship of the *genius Augusti*; if Alexander was neither a Greek hearth-god nor a Greek banqueting cry nor an Egyptian snake, and Agathodaemon was not *his* daemon; and if the attempt to show that Persians worshipped the daemon of the living Achaemenid has failed; then we must ask, does anything remain to support the further theory that the Hellenistic ruler-cult was a cult, not of the ruler, but of his daemon? I know of nothing.⁴⁸

The theory in itself is neither unattractive nor impossible; indeed there is a case of an association at Halicarnassus worshipping the ἀγαθὸς δαίμων of its still living founder.⁴⁹ And I daresay that Alexander, though not a Greek, had a daemon, for Plutarch (*Alex.* 50) alludes to the daemon of his friend Cleitus; though possibly Plutarch, or his source, was merely using later Hellenistic terminology. One may perhaps discount the fact that Hellenistic literature and inscriptions never (so far as I know) allude to the cult of the ruler's daemon⁵⁰ by saying that so much has perished; but in fact, though what remains furnishes no evidence for the theory, it furnishes what seems to me conclusive evidence

⁴⁶ Plut. *Mor.* 755 F.

⁴⁷ *Klio*, xx, p. 182.

⁴⁸ I have met with no evidence that the celebration of the king's birthday by Ptolemy II and his successors has any bearing on the alleged cult of the king's daemon; but I make the reservation that I am not here really considering the later period.

⁴⁹ *Syll.*³ 1044. l. 35; said to be probably fourth/third century. Berve must have overlooked this when he wrote (*Alexanderreich*, I, p. 340). 'Der Kult des ἀγαθὸς δαίμων eines Menschen ist für die griechische Welt nirgends bezeugt.' It is true that such a cult is never mentioned in literature.

⁵⁰ Oaths by the daemon of Ptolemy II (*P.S.I.* iv. 361) or by the τύχη of Seleucus II (*O.G.I.S.* 229, l. 62) or of the king of Pontus (Strab. xii. 557) are not in point; for one thing, men swore equally by the king him-

self, *P. Eleph.* 23 (Ptolemy III); for another, τύχη did not import any cult; for example, the writer in *P.S.I.* iv. 361, goes on to say, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου τύχης βουλομένης (which Wilcken, *Archiv.* vi. p. 390, rightly translates, 'if the king and Apollonius wish'), but there was no cult of Apollonius. Yet τύχης here might just as well have been δαίμωνος; for the personal τύχη (which also originally came to the man from without) and the δαίμων were now practically identical, an expression of the man's personality; see Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, lxx. 1927, p. 290 [A.D.N.], and *Hellenistische Dichtung*, I, pp. 74, 76; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, p. 288. So when Hannibal swore by the δαίμων of the Carthaginians (Polyb. vii. 9, 2) he swore by his city's 'Fortune,' its personality, that is, by Carthage herself.

against it: both contemporaries and later literary men believed that what was worshipped or deified—anyhow as regards Alexander and the Successors—was the actual man of flesh and blood.⁵¹ Plutarch has a story (*Alex.* 28) that Alexander once said when wounded, 'This, my friends, is blood, and not "ichor such as flows in the veins of the blessed gods."' Whether the story be true or invented is immaterial; it proves that, whether to Alexander's circle or to some Hellenistic writer, it was the actual god who was bleeding; a daemon, I suppose, cannot bleed. Similarly in Phylarchus' story of the poisoning of Alexander (*Athen.* vi. 251 C), it is the god who imbibes and suffers from the poison; this shows the third-century belief that it was the corporeal Alexander who was worshipped; you cannot poison a daemon. When Eumenes set up the Alexander-tent, what he and the generals worshipped was Alexander himself, who was there and alive, though they could not see him because he had (in the later phrase) 'changed his life'; this is further shown by the fact that the symbol on the throne was Alexander's sceptre, diadem, and arms⁵²; a daemon could not bear arms, and the arms were the nearest Eumenes could get to the actual man. One more instance, which is contemporary, may suffice; the popular song with which in 290 the Athenians welcomed the god Demetrius ran: 'The other gods are far away . . . but thou art here, and we can see thee, not in wood or stone, but in very truth. To thee we pray'⁵³ (and not to thy daemon). Clearer evidence there cannot be that what the Athenians were worshipping was the man Demetrius, visibly present in the flesh.⁵⁴

I should like here for completeness to add one small point to Mr. A. D. Nock's conclusive refutation⁵⁵ of the time-honoured and hard-worked story (*Diog. Laert.* vi. 2, 63) that the Athenians deified Alexander as Dionysus, since Miss Taylor (p. 61) has brought it into connexion with the daemon. The story cannot be true, for if Alexander ever met Diogenes he was not yet Great King, and Sarapis cannot have been known at Corinth in 336, even if Professor Wilcken be right in his view that the name took shape among the Hellenomemphites earlier than the reign of Ptolemy I⁵⁶; a recent attempt has indeed been made to show that Alexander when at Memphis was honouring and worshipping Sarapis, but it is purely fanciful.⁵⁷ What I would add is this. The references to Hellenistic events in *Diogenes Laertius* are good or bad according to the source he is using, and in the *Life of Diogenes of Sinope* he has struck a bad patch; all

⁵¹ Berve, *Klio*, xx. p. 182. has rightly emphasised that in Alexander's case this *must* have been so.

⁵² *Diod.* xviii. 60, 5-61. 1. The wording of the story throughout is instructive; note too the *εἰσάγα* with the eternal fire, which burnt before the living king.

⁵³ *Douris*, *ap.* *Athen.* 253 D, ll. 15-20; *οὐδὲ δὲ παρόνθ' ὁρώμεν* is conclusive.

⁵⁴ K. Scott, *A. J. Phil.* xlix. 1928, p. 233. suggests that the Athenians on this occasion were worshipping Demetrius as Dionysus (with which I cannot agree), and unintentionally misquotes me in support (cf. his note

186 with *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 49). To me the point of the *Ithyphallus* is the contrast between the gods, who were powerless to help, and the deified king, who emphatically was not; see my *Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ *Notes on Ruler-cult*, I-IV., *J.H.S.* xlviii, 1928, p. 21. A few have always rejected it, e.g. E. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, 1910, p. 331; P. Perdrizet, *Rev. E.A.* xii. 1910, p. 227, n. 6.

⁵⁶ *U.P.Z.* I. pp. 25, 86, and on No. 1.

⁵⁷ E. Kornemann, *Raccolta Lumbroso*, pp. 235 *sqq.*: Zeus βασιλεὺς of Arr. *Anab.*

the Hellenistic references in this Life are certainly drawn from some writer later, perhaps much later, than 270 who knows little history and has without much intelligence related various things about Diogenes of Sinope which could not have happened in his lifetime.⁵⁸

The conclusions of this article can be summarised in few words. The second attempt to show that the Hellenistic ruler-cult was inaugurated at Bactra and that Alexander was its author has, like the first, broken down. What was worshipped was the ruler himself and not his daemon. The idea of a Persian worship of the Achaemenid king's daemon is not supported by evidence; and the theory of Alexander's divine world-kingdom remains where it was before Schnabel and Miss Taylor wrote; it has acquired no fresh support. I need not trouble the reader with my own view of the scene at Bactra; I have given that, as carefully as I can, elsewhere, and have nothing to alter.⁵⁹

As this article, however, has been concerned with negations, I should like in conclusion to venture on one positive suggestion about the Alexandrian Agathodaemon snake. He is generally identified with Psois, doubtless correctly, for Psois (Psai) was the deification of good luck (in Egyptian Sai).⁶⁰ Psois was one of a pair of old Egyptian deities, his consort being Thermuthis (Ernutet), a name attached by tradition to Pharaoh's daughter who rescued Moses. Psai is also the Egyptian name for Ptolemais, and doubtless Psois was the divine snake in that city. Now Ptolemy I founded Ptolemais during his earlier period, when still under the influence of Alexander's ideas; and if Psois was installed at Ptolemais it is likely enough to be true that he had already been installed in Alexander's city, though whether by Alexander himself and whether as Psois or Agathodaemon cannot be said; it is not known how old there the name Agathodaemon is, though it is certainly third century. But the dispossessed chthonian deities would (as Weber says) in both cities be appeased by the new ruler by being given cults. Now the feminine correlative of Agathodaemon is Ἀγαθή τύχη, and I have no doubt that Roussel is right in thinking that the Hellenistic pair Agathodaemon and Agathe Tyche were the two snakes Psois and Thermuthis; for at some time, usually placed later in the Hellenistic period, Psois and Thermuthis became equated with Sarapis and Isis (who had serpent forms),⁶¹ and Isis was among other things Tyche.⁶² That Thermuthis occupies a larger place in Hellenistic literary notices than Psois merely reflects the fact that Isis became of greater importance than Sarapis; the females of the kindly house

iii. 5. 1, is Sarapis. See on this V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander und Ägypten*, 1926, p. 40, who gives the correct view.

⁵⁸ Instances. 44.—Alexander writes to Antipater at Athens; Antipater was never in Athens in Alexander's lifetime, and could not have been save at the head of his army. 44.—Perdiccas threatens Diogenes with death if he does not come to him; (a) Diogenes was dead, (b) this was not the attitude of the Successors toward philosophers. 57.—Craterus invites Diogenes; (a) Diogenes was dead, (b) there was no moment in

Craterus' brief life when this was possible. 63.—Diogenes remarks that kings do what their queens wish; this could not be said of any queen before Arsinoë II.

⁵⁹ *C.A.H.* vol. vi. pp. 398 sq.

⁶⁰ See generally the discussions by W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten*, vol. i. 1914, pp. 42 sqq., and P. Roussel, *Cultes égyptiens à Délos*, 1916, p. 91.

⁶¹ Figured in their serpent form in Weitz' article *Sarapis* in Roscher.

⁶² *P. Oxyr.* xi. 1380; Roussel *op. cit.* No. 119.

snakes, the Agathodaemones, were collectively called Thermutheis, and as such were Isis' ministers to punish sinners.⁶³ Now I would suggest that the identification of Psois and Thermuthis with Sarapis and Isis was not late Hellenistic at all, but was at latest early third century; and that consequently the Agathodaemon snake at Alexandria was one of the numerous deities whose nature helped to constitute Sarapis. The train of ideas is the following. It has always been noticed as extraordinary that Ptolemy I, a sober historian, *once* related a 'marvel': Alexander was guided across the desert to Ammon and back again by two snakes (Arr. *Anab.* iii, 3, 5). I have seen no explanation of this story. Of course it can be rationalised⁶⁴; travellers in the desert, we are told, often see snakes gliding away before them; but rationalising is useless here, for Ptolemy clearly meant his readers to understand that he was relating a supernatural occurrence (*θεῖον*). I have already tentatively made the suggestion⁶⁵ that the two snakes were Psois and Thermuthis. Now Ptolemy had no particular object in bringing Psois, merely as Psois, into the Alexander-story; but if we suppose that, when Ptolemy wrote, Psois already was, or was in process of becoming, identified with Sarapis—as he certainly was later—then Ptolemy had every reason for bringing him in. For propaganda for Sarapis, so lively under Ptolemy II, had already been started by Ptolemy I, witness his introduction of the name into his account of Alexander's death⁶⁶; and what better propaganda for Sarapis than to indicate that the god had been Alexander's divine guide at one of the crucial moments of his career, and that it was Ptolemy's own deity, with Isis his consort, who led Alexander to Ammon? It is only a suggestion, but I submit that it is worth considering.

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⁶³ Aelian, *H.N.* x. 31.

⁶⁴ As by G. Radet, *Notes critiques sur l'histoire d'Alexandre*, I. 1925, p. 74.

⁶⁵ *C.A.H.* vol. vi. p. 378 n.

⁶⁶ Arr. *Anab.* vii. 26, 2; Plut. *Alex.* 76. See Kaerst's discussion, *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*, II. 2nd ed., 1926, pp. 244–5; Nock, *op. cit.* p. 21, n. 2.

THE SITE OF ISAURA NOVA

AN article in *J.H.S.* xii. 1922, p. 44, stated, on the authority of *J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, p. 163 ff., that Isaura Nova has been located with certainty at Dorla. My friend Professor Ormerod, the writer of the article,¹ assures me (confirming my own recollection) that I had no responsibility either for the emphasis of this assertion or for its form. Another friend, who speaks with high authority, but who adduces no evidence, has maintained the contrary opinion, not only in *J.H.S.* xlvi. 1928, p. 49, but even—*flectere si nequeo superos Acheronta movebo*—in *Klio*, *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte*, xxii. 1928, p. 382.² I am content to leave the question of responsibility open; if I had any part in the assertion that Isaura Nova was at Dorla, the more pressing becomes my duty to correct it.

The village of Dorla consists of fifty houses,³ which lie on either side of a small stream flowing northwards from the Isaurian hills (the general direction of the valley at Dorla is 5° E.). About thirty of the houses lie on and around a hillock on the western side of the stream, about twenty lie on the rising ground near the eastern bank. The ancient site, covered in part by the eastern half of the modern village, extends from the stream for some 500 or 600 yards towards the east and north-east; it probably also extends to the western side of the stream, on the south of the hillock.⁴ Its limits are difficult to determine, as the land is now partly built over, partly under cultivation, and partly worn down to the rock. The hillock on the west of the stream was used as a cemetery in the early Christian period (third to fifth centuries), and has produced the interesting series of monuments discussed by Miss Ramsay in *Stud. E.R.P.*, pp. 22 ff. In Professor Ormerod's defence it must be stated that there are few sites in Asia Minor of which it is more accurate to say that the ancient settlement was 'at' the modern town or village. An essential part of the argument

¹ Professor Ormerod says 'at Dorla,' quoting textually from *J.H.S. loc. cit.*, p. 164 (Ramsay). He may also have been influenced by *Jahresh. Oest. Arch. Inst.* vii, 1904, Beibl. col. 77: "Isaura Nea, the site of which we found at Dorla" (Ramsay). This convenient description is sufficiently accurate for practical purposes, although strictly speaking the modern village coincides only in part with the ancient site. See below. Professor Ormerod has not seen Dorla.

² Cf. *J.H.S. loc. cit.*, p. 50, l. 1. The theory propounded in *Klio, loc. cit.*, p. 396 ff., that Lake Trogitis has been emptied by the diversion (about 1914) of the Beyshehir River, and 'must be expunged from the map of Asia Minor,' is fanciful. In June 1924, when Mr. C. W. M. Cox and I visited

(and sketched) it, this 'geographical feature of the past' was roughly of the size shown on Kiepert's *Karte von Kleinasien*, 1:400,000.

³ Statement of the *Ikhtiar* in 1924—doubtless a round number. He added that no new houses had been built since my last visit in 1909.

⁴ Cf. the description in *J.H.S.* xxv. 1925, p. 164: 'The ancient town of Isaura was situated on the high ground on the right side of the stream . . . and extended at least down to the river bank.' Substituting 'settlement' for 'town of Isaura,' I agree. The statement in *J.H.S.* xlvi. 1928, p. 47: 'The town of Isaura was situated on a tongue of land, now uninhabited, on the east side of the stream,' shifts the ground both of the town and of the argument.

in *J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, p. 164 (quoting the Sallust fragment⁵ in Maurenbrecher, ii. 87), is that javelins could be thrown from the hillock on the west of the stream to within the walls of the town—implying a target in the centre of the modern village.

Frontinus, iii. 7, 1, records that *P. Seruilius Isauram oppidum, flumine ex quo hostes aquabantur auerso, ad deditionem sibi (siti?) compulit*. It is certain (see Sterrett, *W.E.*, p. 151) that in this description (if it is accurate) Isaura Vetus cannot be meant. I assume, with *J.H.S. locc. cit.*, that the description is accurate, and that Frontinus is referring to Isaura Nova.

Isaura Nova therefore lay close up to, or on both sides of, a river and depended on the river for its water-supply. A modern candidate for identification with the river on which Isaura Nova depended for its water-supply (there is no question here of storage) must satisfy three conditions: it must flow through or close by the site, it must carry an adequate head of water, and it must flow throughout the year. The stream at Dorla satisfies the first condition, but neither of the other two.⁶ On June 6th, 1924, it was a mere trickle. On June 5th–9th, 1926, the channel was completely dry.⁷ The modern village of Dorla depends for its water entirely on wells, which are numerous and copious; the villagers told us in 1926 that there is a well in every house-yard. It is a reasonable inference that the ancient settlement at Dorla, which ‘extended at least down to the [eastern] river bank’⁸ (and a considerable part of which coincides with the village of Dorla), disposed of an abundant supply of well-water. It is, of course, open to anyone to argue that the hydrographical conditions were different in the first century B.C.; but that would be to buttress one speculation with another. It is no longer open to argue, unless Frontinus and the Sallust fragment are both thrown overboard, that Isaura Nova was at Dorla but lay in a different position from that described in *J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, pp. 163 ff.

‘Isaura’ (‘Isara’) is mentioned on inscriptions both at Dinorna and at Dorla. The Dinorna inscription (Sterrett, *W.E.* p. 149, No. 257: *Ἀνρία Παῦλα θυγάτηρ Φρόντωνος βουλευτοῦ Ἰσαυρων κα[ὶ κρα]τίστου Φρόντωνι υἱῷ ζήσαντι ἔτη πέντε μν. χ.*) has no topographical significance. The Dorla inscription (Ramsay, *Stud. E.R.P.* p. 46, No. 25) is a metrical epitaph including the words: *ἡϊθέων δ’ [ο]ἱ γῆν εὐτειχεά ναῖον Ἰσάρα | Ζηρόβιος πρόφερεν*. If Zenobios, as is probable, was a native of the ancient settlement at Dorla, his epitaph supplies the interesting information that the site at Dorla lay on the territory of Isaura (Nova or Vetus). It does not prove that Isaura Nova was the name of the site at Dorla, and does not contradict the evidence of Frontinus, which, as we have seen, forbids us to place Isaura (Nova) at or anywhere near Dorla.

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⁵ *montem ex quo in † fugam † oppidi teli coniectus erat occupavit* (Seruilius). For *fugam*, *forum* and *iuga* have been conjectured.

⁶ The statement on this pivotal point in *J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, p. 164, is presumably based on village reports. It is incorrect.

⁷ In *J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, p. 163, Sterrett’s

location of Isaura Nova at Dinorna is rightly rejected on the ground that the two brooks at Dinorna are dry in summer. On May 14th, 1926, there was a fair amount of water in the northern brook at Dinorna; but the brooks here are too small to have supplied the ancient settlement with water.

⁸ *J.H.S.* xxv. 1905, p. 164, quoted above.

A CONSTITUTIONAL INSCRIPTION FROM CYRENE

THE inscription with which this article is concerned was first published by S. Ferri.¹ It has been commented on by Ferri, by Wilamowitz,² by Heichelheim,³ and by De Sanctis.⁴ The text reproduced below closely follows that of Ferri, but incorporates a few corrections suggested by Wilamowitz and accepted by De Sanctis.

The main content of the inscription is a series of constitutional regulations. By whom, for whom, and at what date were these issued? Ferri, observing a point of contact between the new constitution and that of the Arcadian Federation as described by Xenophon, and finding evidence in several passages of an overriding control by 'Ptolemy,' concludes that the document was drafted c. 250 B.C. by the Arcadian reformers Ecdemus and Demophanes,⁵ on behalf of the short-lived *Κοινὸν τῶν Κυρηναίων* of that period, and subsequently confirmed and amended by Ptoemy III Euergetes. In this opinion he has been followed by Beloch⁶ and De Sanctis. But he has been effectively criticised by Heichelheim, who points out (i) that the 'Alexandrian minae' mentioned in ll. 9-10 of the text went out of circulation under Ptolemy II Philadelphus and (ii) that the 'Ptolemy' of our inscription, not being styled 'king,' can be none other than Ptolemy I Soter, who did not assume the royal title till 305-304 B.C.

Heichelheim's arguments hardly require reinforcement. But it may be worth adding that the new constitution is quite unsuited to a community organised as a *κοινόν*. In a federal State it is essential that the constitution should set forth clearly the mutual relations of the federating units and define their respective rights and duties; and, indeed, in the surviving fragments of Greek federal constitutions it is precisely these matters that receive attention.⁷ But in the new text there is no allusion to the distribution of powers and obligations between Cyrene and the other cities of Cyrenaica, which latter are not even mentioned. Evidently the constitution was intended for Cyrene alone.

Among the dates at which Soter is known to have interfered in the affairs of Cyrene, viz. 322-321, 313, 308-307, 302-301 B.C., Heichelheim selects 308-307 B.C., which certainly is our *terminus ante quem*, since in 302-301 B.C. Soter

¹ *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie*, 1925, No. 5.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Klio*, New Series, vol. 3 (1927), pp. 175-182.

⁴ *Rivista di Filologia*, 1926, pp. 145-175.

⁵ Polyb. x. 29; Plutarch, *Arat.* 5, 7, *Philop.* 1.

⁶ *Griechische Geschichte* (2nd ed.), iv. 1, 616-7.

⁷ Cf. Ditt. *Syll.* 260 and *Suppl. Epigr. Graecum*, i. 75 (the Hellenic Leagues of Philip and Demetrius); *Syll.* 647 (Stiris and Medeon as members of the Aetolian League).

had become king. His reason for choosing 308–307 B.C. is the prevalence in the text of the forms *-τωσαν*, *-θωσαν*, which do not become common before 300 B.C. Yet Heichelheim admits that these suffixes were in use by 350 B.C. Moreover, the text supplies some evidence in favour of an earlier date. (i) In ll. 29–30 certain measures are prescribed in anticipation of a πόλεμος μὴ Λιβυκός. This can hardly be other than the general warfare among the Diadochi, which broke out in 321 B.C. (ii) In ll. 7, 42, 54 mention is made of *φυγάδες*, whom Soter is evidently concerned to protect. But there is only one occasion on which Soter can be shown to have befriended émigrés from Cyrene, viz. 322–321 B.C.⁸ Our conclusion therefore is that 322–321 B.C. is the date of the inscription.

According to Ferri and Wilamowitz our document is a letter patent from the chancery of Soter; according to De Sanctis it is an act of the Cyrenaean legislature. The terminology of the document leaves the matter in doubt. In l. 6 it is described as *νόμοι*, which points to a legislative act at Cyrene; yet while, no doubt, the new constitution received the formal sanction of the legislature at Cyrene, it might, nevertheless, in substance represent the handiwork of Soter.

Conversely the term *διάγραμμα* (ll. 39, 66), though often used of royal letters, may equally well denote a municipal statute.⁹ Again, the dialect of the inscription cuts both ways. In general, it is couched in the *κοινή διάλεκτος*, but it is strongly infused with Doric forms. The negligence of its syntax has been used as evidence of its Cyrenaic origin; yet the Ptolemaic chancery was also capable of perpetrating ‘howlers.’¹⁰ The contents of the document, as we shall see, tend to prove that Soter was not bent on exploiting the *στάσις* at Cyrene to his own advantage; but neither did Demonax, when he was called in as legislator *ab extra*.¹¹

The most probable solution of the problem is that the new Cyrenaean constitution was the result of give-and-take between the city and its overlord. This theory at any rate has the support of two other documents, which illustrate the practice of Alexander and of Antigonos I under similar conditions. In 324 B.C. the Tegeans drafted a law, submitted it to Alexander, and re-drafted it in accordance with his amendments.¹² C. 303 B.C. Antigonos I laid down a body of rules for the *συνουκισμός* of Lebedus and Teos, but left the cities in question to draft laws on certain residual matters, subject to his approval.¹³ On the analogy of these two cases we might perhaps go further and suggest that the warp was supplied by the Cyrenaicans, the weft by Soter. But in

⁸ Diodorus, xviii. 19–21 points to 322 B.C.; the *Marmor Parium*, s.v. Philocles, to 321 B.C.

⁹ On this subject see esp. A. Plassart, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914, p. 109 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. *Papyrus Halensis*, ll. 167–170: ἀκούομεν . . . αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσηγδάντων τοὺς ἀθρώπους ἐβάλλοντας βίαι ἐνοκίν. (The editors (p. 101) ascribe this to unskilful ex-

cerpting by a copyist, but give no reason for thinking that the royal ordinance was not quoted *in extenso*).

¹¹ Herodotus, iv. 161.

¹² *Syll.* 306. The same procedure was no doubt observed at Chios, where νομογράφοι were appointed by Alexander's order (Hicks and Hill, No. 158).

¹³ *Syll.* 344; esp. ll. 43–55, 101–109.

this, as in so many other problems of *Quellenforschung*, it is better to know too little than too much.

§1. (2)

[πρὸς δὲ τούτοις

- (3) πολῖται ἔσονται οἱ [ἐλευθεροὶ ἐκ πατρὸς Λιβυ]κοῦ καὶ γυναικὸς
Κυρηναίας, καὶ οἱ
(4) ἐκ τῶν Λι[β]υσσῶν τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Καταβα[θμ]οῦ, καὶ Αὐ[τ]αμαλακό-
σιοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἔκ
(5) πεσό[ντων] ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐπέκει[να] γῆς Θινιτίων οὓς Κυρηναῖοι
ἀπώικισαν καὶ
(6) οὓς ἂν Πτολεμαῖος καταστήσῃ πολίτευμα δὲ ἔσται
ὥς ἂν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖσδε. (c. 9)

The topographical questions in this section need not be further discussed here. But two points of constitutional interest are involved. In l. 3 the reading *Λιβυκοῦ* is rejected by De Sanctis on the ground that no Greek city would confer franchise upon the sons of barbarian fathers. This objection carries much weight, and if space permits I would read *Ἑλληνικοῦ* in place of *Λιβυκοῦ*. In ll. 5-6 Ferri takes οὓς ἂν . . . καταστήσῃ to mean that Ptolemy had a perfectly free hand in the matter of enfranchisement. De Sanctis assumes that the correlative of οὓς is not mankind at large, but the people from Automala mentioned above. Here again De Sanctis' view deserves preference. As he points out, an unlimited right of giving franchise is out of keeping with the modest prerogatives elsewhere reserved for Ptolemy, to which it might be added that the rest of the inscription reveals Ptolemy's solicitude for the victims of *στάσις* in Cyrene, and the folk from Automala belonged to this class of unfortunates.

§2. (7) πολίτευμα δ' ἔστω οἱ μύριοι· ὑπαρχόντων δὲ οἱ φυγάδες οἱ ἐς

Αἴγυπτον φυγόντες

- (8) οὓς] ἂν Πτολεμαῖος ἀποδείξῃ καὶ οἷς ἂν τὸ τίμημα ἧ τῶν χρημάτων
τῶν ἀ[θα
(9) ιάτων σὺν τοῖς τῆς γυναῖκος μνῶν εἴκοσι Ἀλεξανδρείων δ' ἂν οἱ
τιμητῇ[ρ
(10) ε]ς τιμήσῃσι ἐλεύθερον, καὶ ὅσοις εἷη ὀφειλόμενον μναῖς εἴκοσι
Ἀλεξανδρείοι[ς
(11) σὺν τοῖς τῆς γυναῖκος [ἀθ]ανάτοις τετιμημένοις μὴ ἐλαττόνος τοῦ
ὀφείλ
(12) ῆ]ματος καὶ τοῦ τόκου· καὶ ἀνταπομνόντων οἱ ὀφείλοντες, [ἐ]ὰν οἱ
γείτονες [μὴ
(13) τ]ιμᾶς ἔχῃσι· ἔστωσαν καὶ οὗτοι τῶν μυρίων μὴ νεώτεροι τριάκοντα
ἐτών. τι[μ
(14) η]τῆρας ἀ[ν]αιρείσθων οἱ γέροντες ἐκ τῶν μυρίων ἄνδρας ἐξήκοντα
μὴ νε[ω]τέρ[ους]
(15) τρι]άκοντα ἐτών ὁμόσαντες ὄρκον νόμμον· οἱ δὲ αἰρεθέντες τιμώντωσαν
ὅσα [ἂν
(16) ἐν τοῖς νόμοις γραφῇ· τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἔτει πολιτενέσ[θ]ωσαν ἐκ τῶν
πρότερον τιμημάτων.

The *πολίτευμα*, being a limited class, is to be distinguished from the generality of citizens mentioned in § 1. From § 6 it appears that the *πολίτευμα* exercised electoral rights. No doubt, as Ferri infers, it consisted of those possessing 'ius publicum.'¹⁴

The number of citizens in the *πολίτευμα*, 10,000, need, of course, not be taken literally. Yet it is probable that their actual total did not fall far short of this mark. Cyrene was a populous State, and of the 500,000 inhabitants which the Cyrenaica is estimated to have contained¹⁵ the greater number probably belonged to it. As we have observed, Ferri sees in the *μύριοι* a link with the Arcadian Federation. But a citizenship of 10,000 was a regular norm for Greek cities,¹⁶ and need not be considered as distinctively Arcadian.

The age-limit set forth in l. 13 was no doubt applicable to the entire *πολίτευμα*, though the intention is not expressed clearly. The *συγκλητός* or General Assembly of the Achaean League was similarly confined to men above the age of thirty; but in the case of *ἐκκλησίαι* or their equivalents these restrictions appear to have been rare.¹⁷

The money qualification for members of the *πολίτευμα* was in itself an oligarchic device.¹⁸ But the minimum census of 2000 drachmae was by no means plutocratic.¹⁹ At Athens, where the same *τίμημα* was enforced by Antipater at this very time, 9000 citizens out of 21,000 lost their franchise.²⁰ At Cyrene, which was an agrarian State and probably in enjoyment of material prosperity,²¹ the disfranchised proletarians cannot have attained so high a proportion of the free population, perhaps not more than a third or a quarter.

Moreover the *τίμημα* at Cyrene was a flat rate, and no differential census was prescribed for holders of office, as in some by no means extreme oligarchies.²² In effect, Cyrene probably became a *πολιτεία τῶν ὅπλα παρεχομένων*, like Athens under the brief 'Theramenic' régime of 411 B.C.²³

The rules laid down for the assessment of property have been well elucidated by Ferri and De Sanctis. Only a few points of detail call for comment here.

(i) *σὺν τοῖς τῆς γυναικὸς* (ll. 9, 11).—These words would hardly have been inserted if the wealth possessed by women had not formed an appreciable makeweight to the property held by men.²⁴ At Sparta, where, to be sure, there

¹⁴ For the various meanings of *πολίτευμα*, see W. Ruppel, *Philologus*, 1926, pp. 268 ff.

¹⁵ Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, pp. 259–260.

¹⁶ Harpocration, *s.v.* *μυριάδρος πόλις*. A case in point is Hiero's foundation at Aetna (Diodorus 11. 49).

¹⁷ The belief that the Spartan Apella was hedged in with an age restriction is probably erroneous. See Busolt, *Griech. Staatskunde* (2nd ed.), p. 691, n. 3.

¹⁸ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1278, a 23.

¹⁹ Cf. the low census of 2500 denarii prescribed for Roman jurors at Cyrene in an inscription of 7–6 B.C. J. G. Anderson, *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1927, p. 34.

²⁰ Diodorus, 18. 18.

²¹ According to another inscription published by Ferri (*loc. cit.* pp. 24–5) Cyrene made a gift of 805,000 medimni of corn to other Greek cities during the famine period 330–325 B.C.

²² Aristotle, *Politics*, 1320, b 21–25.

²³ Thucydides, viii. 97; Aristotle, *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, ch. 30. I agree with W. S. Ferguson (*Cambridge Ancient History*, v. p. 338) in identifying Thucydides' and Aristotle's constitutions.

²⁴ Cf. the contemporary inscription from Tegea (*Syll.* 306), in which restored exiles receive back τὰ πατρῶια as well as their paternal estates.

were special causes at work, no less than two-fifths of the πολιτικὴ χώρα had by this time passed into women's hands.²⁵

(ii) ὁ ἂν τιμήσωσι ἐλεύθερον (ll. 9-10).—This distinction between gross and net estate is first encountered in the 'Constitution of Draco.'²⁶ It recurs in the pact of συνοικισμός between Stiris and Medeon, where the contracting parties declare that all their assets are unencumbered.²⁷ The abuses which could arise from a lack of precision on this point may be illustrated from an Ephesian inscription of 297 B.C., in which special measures have to be devised against οἱ δεδανεισμένοι ὥς ἐπ' ἐλευθέρους τοῖς κτήμασι.²⁸

(iii) ἐὰν οἱ γείτονες μὴ τιμὰς ἔχωσι (ll. 12-13).—Ferri aptly quotes a clause from the code of Thurii, which requires vendors of a property to call in three neighbours and to hand to each a small coin as a token of the conveyance (Theophrastus, fr. 97). The attestation of a sale by neighbours is also illustrated by a deed from Mylasa,²⁹ and perhaps, too, by the municipal code of Alexandria.³⁰ It has been supposed that this usage originated in Ionia and travelled thence both east and west.³¹ But its recurrence at Cyrene, which was little exposed to Ionian influences, tells against this theory.

In any case, the present clause proves that Cyrene still lacked an official registry of private deeds. Such an institution was not set up in Athens until 316-315 B.C.,³² and was hardly to be looked for in Cyrene at an earlier date.

(iv) The τιμητῆρες (ll. 9-10, 13-16).—These were presumably a special board appointed for the occasion, like the Athenian καταλογεῖς of 411 B.C.³³ We are not told how future re-assessments were to be conducted, and we hardly even possess the basis for a conjecture, for we know very little about the technique of census-taking in Greek towns.³⁴ The age-limit prescribed for the τιμητῆρες is ten years less than that of the Athenian καταλογεῖς, and conspicuously low when compared with the figures laid down for other boards and councils in the ensuing sections.

The method of appointing the τιμητῆρες affords one of the few instances of an overriding control on Ptolemy's part. The γέροντες who appointed the Board of Assessment were themselves nominees of Ptolemy (§ 3), who thus indirectly appointed the Ten Thousand.

This procedure stands in apparent contrast with the method applied to the καταλογεῖς at Athens, who were ostensibly elected by the people, but in reality by a few wire-pullers.

The number of the sixty τιμητῆρες, which De Sanctis considers remark-

²⁵ *Politics*, 1270, a 23-24.

²⁶ *Ἀθ. Πολ.* ch. 4. I follow L. Ziehen (*Rhein. Mus.* 1899, pp. 321 ff.) in ascribing this chapter to the ἀναγραφεῖς of 409 B.C.

²⁷ *Syll.* 647, l. 10.

²⁸ *Syll.* 364, l. 38.

²⁹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888, p. 27, ll. 4, 14.

³⁰ *Pap. Halensis*, i. ll. 254-257. The word γείτονες here appears twice, but each time it is a restoration.

³¹ So the editors of the papyrus (p. 153),

followed by E. Weiss, *Griechisches Privatrecht*, i. p. 250.

³² W. S. Ferguson, *Klio*, 1911, pp. 265 ff.

³³ *Ἀθ. Πολ.* ch. 29, § 5.

³⁴ According to Aristotle the usual census periods were one, two, or three years (*Politics*, 1308, a 40). In the Delian Confederacy re-assessments were made every four years ([Xenophon] *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 3, § 5) by commissioners appointed for the occasion (*I.G.*², i. 13).

ably high, is explained by him as due to the 'improbo lavoro' which they had to shoulder. This theory appears plausible, especially if we remember that the assessors were only given a year in which to complete their work (l. 16). But at Athens, where only five thousand names had to be enrolled, the *καταλογεῖς* were made up to a strength of one hundred, without being bound by any time limit. The reason for these high numbers is perhaps that the work of assessment was likely to be better accomplished if the assessors had personal acquaintance with the citizens under review, which would only be possible if each was given a comparatively small area to cover.³⁵

- §3. (17) βουλὴ δὲ ἔστω ἄνδρες πεντακόσιοι οἱ ἂν τῷ κλήρῳ λάχῃσι μὴ νεώτεροί
 (18) πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν· βουλευόντωνσαν δὲ δὺ' ἔτη, ἀποκληρωσάντων δὲ τῷ
 (19) τρίτῳ ἔτει τοὺς ἡμίσεις· δὲ διαλειπόντωνσαν δὲ δὺ' ἔτη· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ γίνηται ὁ ἄρι
 (20) θμύς, ἀποκληρόντων ἐκ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν.

The beginning of this paragraph reads like a description of the democratic βουλὴ at Athens, with its 500 members ἀπὸ κνάμου. In all probability it was the product of a democratic revolution. According to Aristotle a movement of this kind led to the creation of new φυλαί of Cleisthenic pattern at Cyrene. Surely the Cleisthenic βουλὴ of Cyrene was a product of the same upheaval.³⁶ On the other hand, the age-limit of the Cyrenaic βουλὴ was far higher than at Athens: fifty years instead of thirty. The same minimum figure as at Athens was prescribed for the councils in the cities of Asia Minor.^{36a} The Cyrenaean minimum may be regarded as exceptionally high. The Cyrenaean βουλὴ also differed from the Athenian one, and from many other councils, both in democratic and in oligarchic States, in that it was not divided into prytanies or committees in permanent session.³⁷

A further peculiarity consists in the terms of service and rules for retirement. The tenure of office is for two years in the first instance. At the end of the second year one half of the members retire. It is not quite clear whether the remaining half served for a further term of one year, or of two

³⁵ At Athens ten *καταλογεῖς* were selected from each φυλή (Lysias, 20, § 13). No doubt at Cyrene the *τιμητῆρες* were likewise selected from the φυλαί, which probably were five in number (§ 3). At Alexandria the five tribes were divided into sixty δῆμοι (*Pap. Hibeh*, i. 28), and at Heracleia Pontica the citizens were apportioned among sixty *ἐκατοστής* (Aeneas Tacticus, 11. 10a). The number of the *τιμητῆρες* at Cyrene suggests a similar subdivision.

³⁶ *Politics*, 1320, b 21-25. The date unfortunately is not given. (Perhaps c. 450 B.C., when the first democracy was set

up. Heracleides Ponticus, fr. 4, § 4, *F.H.G.*, ii. 212).

^{36a} Pliny, *Epp.* x. 79. The ordinance here quoted is the *Lex Pompeia*. But it is probable that Pompey merely confirmed an existing usage.

³⁷ Prytanies (or their equivalents) can be traced in the βουλαί of the following oligarchies: Corinth (Whibley, *Greek Oligarchies*, p. 164, n. 2); Delphi (Pontow, *Philologus*, 1898, p. 542); Chios (Collitz-Bechtel, *Griechische Dialekt-Inschriften*, 5632 a, b); Byzantium (Michel, *Recueil*, 535, l. 62); Massilia (Strabo, p. 179).

years, as Ferri and De Sanctis not unreasonably hold, and whether the supplementary sortitions were annual or biennial. But so much is certain, that the βουλὴ was renewed by relays, not by wholesale changes of membership. In this arrangement we may, no doubt, discern a device to secure continuous experience without perpetual tenure on the individual councillors' part.³⁸ A very imperfect attempt to attain the same end may be traced in the 'Theramenic' council of 411 B.C., which allowed each councillor on important occasions to co-opt another person from one of the other three panels of the τέτταρες βουλαί.³⁹ But for a really close parallel we must go to the British Local Government Acts, which require one-third of the sitting councillors to retire annually, albeit with the right of standing at once for re-election.⁴⁰ At Cyrene the ex-councillors were put on the waiting list for two years, which was in accord with the usage of some of the more democratic States⁴¹: thus at Athens no person could serve more than twice in a lifetime on the βουλή, and at Erythrae and Thurii an interval of four years was prescribed between two spells of office.⁴²

Two arithmetical problems remain to be considered:—

(i) Though the point is not mentioned, it may be taken for granted that Cyrene followed the usual Greek custom of allotting an equal number of seats on the βουλή to each φυλή.⁴³ Given 500 councillors, it follows that the number of φυλαί was either ten, as at Athens, or five. The latter number is the more probable, for it matches the number of the ephors (§ 7), and probably also of the στρατηγοί (§ 6). This number was not the original one. As a Dorian foundation, Cyrene almost certainly apportioned its original settlers among the customary triad of Hylleis, Pamphyli and Dymanes; and in the sixth century the legislator Demonax, while altering the composition of the tribes, retained the triple division. But an increase in the number of the φυλαί at some subsequent date is recorded by Aristotle,⁴⁴ and it was then, no doubt, that their number was fixed at five (or ten).

(ii) According to modern statistics, as De Sanctis points out, the number of lives above fifty is about one-third of the number above thirty.⁴⁵ Therefore given a πολίτευμα of 10,000, the number of quinquagenarians and older men would be about 3300. This total would suffice to fill the βουλή six or seven times, and since retiring members were re-eligible after two years, there would in theory be an ample supply of eligibles. But in practice a considerable proportion of these might be physically unfit and entitled to an ἐξωμοσία. Hence

³⁸ For an example of life tenure by βουλευταί, cf. Massilia (Strabo, *loc. cit.*).

³⁹ *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 30, § 4.

⁴⁰ For a similar rule relating to executive officials, cf. *I.G.* xiv. 421 (Tauromenium), where a couple of στρατηγοί διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν are grouped under each ἐπώνυμος.

⁴¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1317, b 23.

⁴² Demosthenes, 24. 150; Hicks and Hill, No. 32, l. 12; Aristotle, *Politics*, 1307, b 7.

⁴³ The existence of φυλαί at Cyrene is

proved by another inscription published by Ferri (*loc. cit.* p. 21), and by Aristotle, *Politics*, 1319, b 22.

⁴⁴ *Loc. cit.*

⁴⁵ From the copious data of *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* viii. it can be calculated that the average longevity of males in the provinces of Africa, Numidia and Mauretania was forty-seven to forty-eight years, which suggests a somewhat higher proportion of older men.

the arrangement for a 'subsortitio' of men above forty. De Sanctis explains the 'subsortitio' as a means of dealing with absenteeism. But in an agrarian State like Cyrene this would probably not be serious, and in any case it could have been better remedied by imposing fines.⁴⁶

- § 4. (21) γέ]ροντες ἔστωσαν ἑκατὸν εἰς οὓς ἂν Πτολεμαῖος καταστήσῃ·
κατὰ [δὲ τὸν
(22) ἥ ἀ]ποθανόντα ἥ ἀποσταθέντα εἰς τοὺς ἑκατὸν καὶ ἕνα οἱ μύριοι
ἄλλον [αἱ
(23) ρέισ]θων μὴ νεώτερον πενήτηκοντα ἐτῶν· τοὺς δὲ γέροντας μὴ
ἐγκατ[αρι
(24) θμ]εῖσθαι εἰς ἀρχὴν μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἢ στρατηγούς ἐν πολέμῳ.

The mere name of the *γερουσία* proclaims that it was anterior to the *βουλή*. In all probability it was in origin an aristocratic council, which was subsequently compelled to share its powers with the more democratic *βουλή*.⁴⁷ Unlike some oligarchic senates, the Cyrenaean *γερουσία* was not fenced off with a special money or birth qualification, and it lacked the typically oligarchic power of co-opting its new members.⁴⁸ But its oligarchic origin is revealed by its comparatively small numbers,⁴⁹ by its age-limit of fifty years,⁵⁰ and by the life tenure of its members.⁵¹

The range of the functions of the *γερουσία* was a wide one. In the deliberative sphere it acted as a probuleutic board for the *βουλή*, thus discharging the duties which elsewhere devolved upon the *prytanies*.⁵² In the judicial sphere it served as a joint court for capital trials (§ 8). It apparently lacked the Lords' 'veto' exercised by the Areopagus and by the *γερουσίαι* of Sparta and of the Achaean League,⁵³ but it figures in a somewhat unusual role as an electoral college (l. 14). Proof of its effective importance lies in the fact that Ptolemy reserved for himself the right of nominating its original members under the new constitution.

The disqualification of *γέροντες* for executive posts is in conformity with the general Greek tendency to keep apart the three branches of government, and

⁴⁶ For this device, cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1294, a 38; *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 4, § 3, 30, § 6.

⁴⁷ On the relations of *γερουσίαι* to *βουλαι* see B. Keil in Gercke-Norden's *Einleitung* (2nd ed.), iii. p. 345.

⁴⁸ So the Areopagus (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* 3, § 6, and 8, § 2). Cf. *Politics*, 1298, b 2-3.

⁴⁹ For other small senates, cf. the thirty *γέροντες* at Sparta; the thirty *βουλευται* at Delphi (Bourguet, *L'administration du sanctuaire pythique*, p. 44); the sixty *ἀμνήμονες* at Cnidus (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 4); the Eighty at Argos (Thuc. v. 47); the Ninety at Elis (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1306, a 18).

The odd number of *γέροντες* at Cyrene
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was, no doubt, as Ferri suggests, on account of its judicial functions. Cf. the fifty-one *ἐφέται* at Athens.

⁵⁰ This is only equalled or surpassed, to our knowledge, at Sparta, where the *γέροντες* were at least sixty years of age.

⁵¹ Cf. Sparta (*Politics*, 1270, b 39); Crete (*ibid.* 1272, a 37); Elis (*ibid.* 1306, a 18); Cnidus (Plutarch, *loc. cit.*); the Areopagus (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* 3, § 6).

⁵² Instances of probuleumatic *γερουσίαι* are particularly common in Roman Asia Minor. From Ephesus we have a case which dates back to 302 B.C. (Ditt. *Syll.* 353.)

⁵³ For the Achaean *γερουσία*, cf. Polyb. 38. 13, 1.

in particular to separate executive from judicial functions.⁵⁴ But this is the first known case of an express ruling on the subject.⁵⁵

- § 5. (25) *ἱα[ρ]ῆας τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αἰρείσθων ἐκ τῶν γερόντων τῶν μὴ ἱα[ριτ]*
(26) *ε]υκότων μὴ νεωτέρους πεντήκοντα ἔτων.*

The high age-limit and the proviso that priests must belong to the *γερουσία* call for no comment. Since the office was eponymous,⁵⁶ repeated tenure of it was naturally forbidden. It is not made clear by whom the priests are to be appointed, but we may presume that this duty devolved upon the *γέροντες*. Unlike many such offices of the Hellenistic period, this priesthood is not put up for sale. But since the practice of simony always remained Ionic rather than Hellenic,⁵⁷ we need not look for an example of it at Cyrene.

- § 6. (27) *στρατηγὸς δὲ ἔστω Πτολεμαῖος ἀε[ί]· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον αἰρείσθωσαν*
[στρατ]
(28) *ἡγούς πέντε ἐκ τῶν μήπω ἐστρατηγηκότων μὴ νεωτέρους πεντή-*
[κοντα]
(29) *ἔτων· ἐὰν δὲ πόλεμος ᾖ, ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ πολιτεύματος· ἐὰν δὲ*
πόλεμ[ος]
(30) *προ]σγένηται ἄλλος τις καὶ μὴ Λιβυκός, οἱ μύριοι διαγρόντωνσαν*
πό[τερον]
(31) *οἱ αὖ]τοὶ στρατηγῶσιν ἢ μὴ· ἐὰν δὲ δόξῃ μὴ τοὺς αὐτοὺς, αἰρεί-*
σθωσαν ἐκ παντ[ός]
(32) *το]ῦ πολιτεύματος.*

Ptolemy, of course, could not hold a *στρατηγία* in person, and the right which he reserved for himself was in effect that of nominating one *στρατηγός* out of six. This was a very modest claim compared with that of the Attalid kings who nominated the entire board of five *στρατηγοὶ* at Pergamum.⁵⁸ At Pergamum, moreover, the *στρατηγοὶ* possessed the sole 'ius relationis' in the *βουλὴ* and *ἐκκλησία*, and thus controlled the entire policy of the city. In the present Act there is no mention of any such privilege for Ptolemy's nominee. Ptolemy's position in the executive of Cyrene may be compared with that which his *ἐπιστρατηγός* occupied in his colony at Ptolemais in Upper

⁵⁴ The tendency to confine executive officials to a merely formal part in judicial trials is best illustrated by the law-court practice of Athens. A similar division of functions obtained in Egypt under the early Ptolemies. (F. Zucker, *Philologus*, Beiheft 12).

⁵⁵ An instance of much more limited scope may be quoted from the constitution of the Aetolian League, which forbade *στρατηγοὶ* to influence by means of speeches the decisions of the Assembly on peace and war (*Livy*, 35. 25, 7).

⁵⁶ Cf. inscriptions published by E. Ghis-

lanzoni in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, "Classe morale, etc.," ser. vi. 1, pp. 418-421, and an inscription from Benghazi (Ferri, *loc. cit.* p. 18).

⁵⁷ G. Plaumann, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *ιερείς*, viii. 2, col. 1415.

⁵⁸ On the relation of the Attalids to Pergamum, see Cardinali, *Il regno di Pergamo*, pt. ii. chs. 5-8.

In Demetrius' *κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων* there is mention of *ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἀποδεδειγμένος στρατηγός*. *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* i. 75, ll. 16-17.

Egypt. In this city the ἐπιστρατηγός occupies the post of γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, but has no special 'ius relationis.'⁵⁹

It is not stated explicitly, but may safely be inferred, that in peace-time as under war conditions, the other five στρατηγοὶ were appointed by the μύριοι, in conformity with the ordinary Greek usage of popular election for these officials. On the relation of the στρατηγοὶ to the φυλαί nothing is said, except that in war-time the election is to be ἐκ πάντος τοῦ πολιτεύματος, i.e. without reference to the φυλαί. In normal times we may surmise that the elections were κατὰ φυλάς.⁶⁰ It is, however, most unlikely that Ptolemy sat on the board as the representative of a φυλή. But if the other five στρατηγοὶ were ἐκ τῶν φυλῶν, it is a fairly probable inference that the number of φυλαί was five.

The minimum age of the στρατηγός was fixed at an unusually high figure: only at Chalcis do we find a similar rule in the case of regular executive officials.⁶¹ Another uncommon regulation is that which forbids re-election to the στρατηγία. In the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues an interval of one year was prescribed between successive στρατηγίαι,⁶² and the terms of the πρυτάνεις at Delphi were similarly spaced out.⁶³ But the ordinary rule, as exemplified by the fifteen continuous στρατηγίαι of Pericles, the forty-five στρατηγίαι held by Phocion, and the thirteen terms of command which Pelopidas enjoyed in fifteen years, was to sanction iteration *ad infinitum*.⁶⁴

The high age-limit and the rule which prevented στρατηγοὶ from accumulating experience must have greatly reduced the effectiveness of their office. Hence it is not surprising that the former at least of these restrictions was relaxed in war-time. The distinction between conditions of war and of peace is, of course, unusual, but it is repeated in Demetrius Poliorcetes' Hellenic constitution, where it runs like a red thread through his fabric of government.⁶⁵ The liability of the στρατηγοὶ to deposition at the outbreak of a πόλεμος μὴ Λιβυκός recalls the ἐπιχειροτονία of Athenian officials, but this occurred as a matter of routine at each κυρία ἐκκλησία.⁶⁶

- § 7. (33) ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ νομοφύλακες ἐννὴ ἐκ τῶν μὴ νενομοφυλακηκότων
(34) καὶ ἔφοροι πέντε ἐκ τῶν μὴ ἐφορευηκότων μὴ νεώτεροι ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα.

In other inscriptions the number of νομοφύλακες stands now at nine, now at six. In one document six νομοφύλακες are enumerated, with three γραμματεῖς to follow.⁶⁷ No doubt the νομοφύλακες were reckoned at six or nine, according as their secretaries were counted in. Since all these numbers are triads, it is

⁵⁹ Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten*, p. 28.

⁶⁰ This was the rule at Athens before the Macedonian era (*Ἀθ. Πολ.* 61, § 1).

⁶¹ Heracl. Ponticus, fr. 31; *F.G.H.* ii. p. 222.

⁶² Plutarch, *Aratus*, 16, 20, 30, 38; M. Dubois, *Les liguees achéenne et étolienne*, p. 201.

⁶³ Bourguet, *op. cit.* p. 47.

⁶⁴ For other instances, cf. the ταγεία and the στρατηγία in Thessaly (Michel, *Recueil*, 1281E; *I.G.* ix. 2, 544); and the στρατηγία in Ilium (*Or. Gr. Inscr.* 218, l. 70).

⁶⁵ *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* i. 75.

⁶⁶ *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 43, § 4.

⁶⁷ Ghislanzoni, *loc. cit.*

tempting to conjecture that they bear reference to the three pre-democratic *φυλαὶ* of Cyrene; but it is equally possible that they just happened to be 6 + 3, as the Athenian *νομοφύλακες* happened to be seven.⁶⁸ The method of appointment and length of tenure of this board are uncertain.

It is suggested by Heichelheim that the *νομοφύλακες* were an imitation of the Athenian board of like name. But the Athenian *νομοφύλακες* played no important part before the days of Demetrius Phalereus,⁶⁹ and can hardly have attracted any attention. Probably they were an old if not an original institution, for such boards were in general reckoned as characteristic of aristocracy or of oligarchy.⁷⁰ It is regrettable that their powers have not been specified. The functions of like boards in other cities appear to have varied widely. In Athens previous to Demetrius Phalereus they seem to have been mere caretakers; in Abdera they figure as clerks; ⁷¹ in Priene as petty executive officials with a monthly tenure of office.⁷² In Athens after 316–315 B.C., at Coreyra, Demetrias and Ilium they are vested with coercive powers,⁷³ and in one of the Egyptian towns (Alexandria?) they receive judicial petitions.⁷⁴ At Ilium they rank with the *βούλαρχαι*; ⁷⁵ at Demetrias they form a *συναρχία* with the *στρατηγοί*.⁷⁶ Similarly at the foot of our text they are enumerated alongside of the *strategi* and *ephors*. The most probable conclusion is that at Cyrene they exercised no important routine functions, but they retained wide if dormant powers of supervision.⁷⁷

In the ephorate we may recognise a distinctively Dorian or, better, Laconian institution. Apart from the unofficial and short-lived 'ephorate' at Athens, which plainly aped its Spartan namesake,⁷⁸ this board only recurs at Sparta and in the other Laconian towns,⁷⁹ at Messene,⁸⁰ in the Italiote Heraclea,⁸¹ and at Thera,⁸² whence, no doubt, the office was transplanted to Cyrene. In view of their origin, it is probable that the ephors were an early institution at Cyrene. It is uncertain whether they were five from the first, like their prototypes at Sparta, or whether their numbers were raised concurrently with the increase in the number of the tribes at the time of the democratic revolution. In all probability each represented a tribe under the present constitution.

We know from Heracleides Ponticus that the Cyrenaean ephors wielded disciplinary powers.⁸³ We may infer from a formula in another inscription 'ἐφόρων καὶ γερόντων ἐπαρόντων, ἅδε ταῖ βωλαῖ [ἔδοξεν],' ⁸⁴ that they acted

⁶⁸ Lex. Cantabr., s.v. *νομοφύλακες*.

⁶⁹ Ferguson, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁰ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1298, b 29, 1323, a 8.

⁷¹ Ditt. *Syll.* 656, ll. 35, 39.

⁷² Hiller v. Gartringen, *Inscr. v. Priene*, 3, ll. 17–19.

⁷³ Coreyra: *I.G.* ix. 1. 694, l. 104; Demetrias: Ditt. *Syll.* 1157; Ilium, *Athen. Mitteilungen*, xxiv. p. 451. Other boards of *νομοφύλακες* are cited by Cardinali (*op. cit.* p. 270, n. 1); but little can be ascertained as to their powers.

⁷⁴ *Pap. Lille*, i. 29, col. 1, l. 12.

⁷⁵ *I.G.* xii. 2, 484 (Mytilene).

⁷⁶ *I.G.* ix. 2, 1108–1109.

⁷⁷ The existence of *νομοφύλακες* at Halicarnassus has recently been proved by C. C. Edgar, *The Zenon Papyri*, No. 59,037 (258–257 B.C.). This office was in the gift of Ptolemy's Minister, Apollonius, and therefore was, no doubt, of some importance.

⁷⁸ Lysias, xii. 43.

⁷⁹ *I.G.* v. 1, 50–77.

⁸⁰ Polyb. 4. 4, 2.

⁸¹ *I.G.* xiv. 645.

⁸² *I.G.* xii. 3. 322, 336.

⁸³ Fr. 4, § 5. *F.H.G.* ii. 212.

⁸⁴ From Benghazi, of early third century B.C. (Ferri, *loc. cit.* p. 18).

conjointly with the *γέροντες* as a probuleutic committee,⁸⁵ and perhaps also that they inherited the presidency over the *γερουσία* from the kings. But in the absence of a helot population and of a strict *ἀγωγή* their disciplinary authority can hardly have been comparable with that of the Spartan ephors, and the fact that Ptolemy was at no pains to acquire a control over them suggests that they had become inferior in effective power to the *στρατηγοί*. Presumably they had lost executive authority to the *στρατηγοί* during some democratic movement.

The prohibition against re-election indicates that the ephors were appointed annually, as in Sparta, Laconia, Thera and Heracleia, where they were eponymous. The method of appointment (by the *γερουσία*, or, more probably, by the *μύριοι*?) is not stated. The age-limit of fifty for this board is unknown elsewhere; but if senility was a recommendation for *στρατηγοί* (§ 6), it became almost a *sine qua non* for ephors.

- § 8. (35) *πρασόντωνσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν γέροντες ἃ οἱ γέροντες ἐπ' εἰρήνης*
ἔπρασσον· ἡ
 (36) *δὲ βουλή ἃ ἡ βουλή, οἱ δὲ μύριοι ἃ οἱ χίλιοι. [τὰς δὲ θαν']άτου*
δίκας δικαζ[όν]
 (37) *των] οἱ γέροντες καὶ ἡ βουλή καὶ ἐκ τῶν μυρίων χίλιοι καὶ*
πεντακόσιοι οἱ ἄν
 (38) *κ]λήρῳι λάχῳσι· χρέσθωσαν δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς προτέροις ὅσοι*
μὴ ὑπενάντιοι [τῶι
 (39) *δε τῶι διαγράμματι· ὑπεύθυνοι δὲ ἔστωσαν αἱ ἀρχαὶ κατὰ τοὺς*
νόμους τοὺς [ὄν
 (40) *τα[ς]. ὅτ[ω]ι δ' ἂν ἀγομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν [οἱ] γέροντ[ες*
κ]αὶ ἡ βουλή θάνατον κ[ρί]
 (41) *ν]ηι, ἐξέστω αὐτῶι πότερον ἂν βούληται ἢ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δικάσα-*
σθαι ἢ ἐν Πτο[λεμ]
 (42) *αἰῶι ἔτη τρία· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις δικαζέσθων· φυγάδ[ο]ς*
δὲ μὴ κα[τα]
 (43) *δικαζέσθων ἄτερ τῆς Πτολεμαίου γνώμης.*

The curtness of the first sentence in this paragraph is disappointing, for a fuller statement of the work of the *γέροντες*, *βουλή*, and *μύριοι* might have enabled us to visualise the constitution of Cyrene in full working order. The duties of the *γερουσία* we have discussed in § 5. The *βουλή*, besides its obvious functions as a deliberative body,⁸⁶ also possessed judicial powers (§ 8). The *μύριοι* have appeared in § 6 as an electoral body; no doubt they possessed the usual confirmatory powers of an *ἐκκλησία*.

⁸⁵ Other examples of executive officials exercising probuleutic functions may be cited from Megara (*αἰσιμνάται*—*I.G.* vii. 15), Argos (*ἀρτύναι*—Thuc. v. 47; *I.G.* iv. 554. 2); Epidaurus (*ἀρτῦνοι*—Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 1); and the Euboean towns of Carystus, Chalcis, Eretria, and Histiaea (*πρόβουλοι*—*I.G.* xii. 9. 2, 207, 223; xii. 5. 594). A

small board of probuleutic officials was regarded by Aristotle as an oligarchic institution (*Politics*, 1299, b 34).

⁸⁶ In the third-century inscription from Benghazi (Ferri, p. 18) the *βουλή* (confirmed, no doubt, by the *μύριοι*), confers a *προξενία*.

‘οἱ δὲ μύριοι ἃ οἱ χίλιοι.’—This short phrase is full of content. It proves that Cyrene had recently been in the hands of an exclusive oligarchy,⁸⁷ and that the promulgation of the new constitution in our text was in effect an emphatic swing back towards democracy. According to Aristotle, who speaks of these happenings as if they were recent history, the previous democracy had grown oppressive and provoked *στάσις*.⁸⁸ We may surmise that in the present *στάσις* the oligarchs had at first snatched a short-lived victory.

The rest of this section gives us a glimpse of the judiciary at Cyrene, but only in relation to cases involving death. No less than five agents of justice are mentioned. Of these the *στρατηγοί* merely present the prisoners for trial.⁸⁹ The *γέροντες* probably act in their usual capacity as *πρόβουλοι*, investigating the facts and leaving verdict and sentence to the *βουλή*.⁹⁰ From this latter body an appeal lies, normally, to a popular jury of 1500 selected by lot. So far the course of proceedings is not unlike that of an Athenian *εἰσαγγελία*, where the case would pass through the *πρυτάνεις* and the *βουλή* to a *δικαστήριον*.⁹¹ But for a provisional term of two years an alternative court of appeal might usurp the functions of the Fifteen Hundred and One, and where the prisoner was a restored exile the reference to this court was compulsory. The intervention of Ptolemy in affairs relating to an émigré was, no doubt, a wise precaution, for after a period of *στάσις* Greek political prisoners could hardly count on strict justice from the tribunals of their own State.⁹²

The parenthesis relating to the rendering of account by magistrates is cryptic in its brevity. At Athens the more serious trials arising out of a *εὐθυνα* were heard by a *δικαστήριον*;⁹³ and apparently the general tendency in Greek States was to regard judgment on *εὐθυναί* as a popular right.⁹⁴ But the procedure at Cyrene is too obscure for hopeful conjecture.

- § 9. (44) ὅς [ἀν] ἐκ τοῦ [πολιτε]ύματος δημοσῖαι ἰατρύνῃ ἢ παιδοτρίβῃ ἢ διδάσκῃ[ι]
 (45) μ[ου]σικ[ήν] ἢ πάλην ἢ ὀπλομάχ[ει]νι [ἢ] κηρύσσει ἐν βρυτανείῳ μὴ συνπορε[νέσ]
 (46) θω[σαν] ταῖ[ς] ἐτ[ερ]αῖ[ς]

The *ἐταιρίαι* are mentioned in another inscription as co-ordinate with the *φυλαί* and *φρατρίαι*.⁹⁵ They were therefore official subdivisions of the

⁸⁷ The limitation of active franchise to ‘One Thousand’ is also attested in Acarnania, Acragas, Colophon, Aeolian Cyme, Heraclea Pontica, the two towns of Locri, and Rhegium. (Busolt, *Griech. Staatskunde*, 2nd ed., p. 355, 1465). But all of these, except Acragas and perhaps Heraclea, were small compared with Cyrene.

⁸⁸ *Politics*, 1319, b 14–18.

⁸⁹ The *στρατηγοί* of the early Ptolemies in Egypt played much the same part (Zucker, *op. cit.*). The Athenian *στρατηγοί* had a small independent jurisdiction (Lipsius, *Attischer Prozess*, pp. 113–114).

⁹⁰ For numerous other instances of Greek

βουλαί acting as courts of law, cf. Swoboda, *Griech. Staatsaltertümer*, pp. 134–135.

⁹¹ Lipsius, *op. cit.* pp. 176 ff.

⁹² For similar precautions taken by the Athenians within the Delian Confederacy, cf. Hicks and Hill, 32, ll. 28–29; 40, ll. 73–76. The cases referred to Ptolemy would no doubt be heard by proxy. Similarly in Egypt numerous petitions addressed ‘*βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίῳ*’ never reached the king in person.

⁹³ *Αθ. Πολ.* 48, § 5.

⁹⁴ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1298, b 6.

⁹⁵ *καταστάμεν ἐς φυλὰν καὶ πάτρην ἐς θ’ ἐνέα ἐταρρίας*.—In the ‘*stèle dei fondatori*,’ ll. 15–16 (Ferri, pp. 20–21).

community, and should be compared, not with the private *ἐταιρίαι* in Athens, but with the *ἀνδρεῖα* or *ἐταιρίαι* of the Cretan towns, and perhaps with the *φιδίτια* of Sparta, both of which were essentially military groups.⁹⁶ At Sparta persons expelled from the *φιδίτια* ceased to be full citizens,⁹⁷ and in Crete the *ἀπέταιροι* were rated at a lower 'wergeld.'⁹⁸ At Cyrene the exclusion of professional men from the *ἐταιρίαι* no doubt had its origin in the prejudice of aristocracies against paid work, as Ferri and De Sanctis have pointed out. Yet in the Hellenistic age teachers and doctors rose in general estimation, and in some cities, as at Lampsacus⁹⁹ and in Alexandria,¹⁰⁰ enjoyed public privileges. Moreover, at Cyrene, not being debarred from the *πολίτευμα*, they could acquire the full 'ius honorum.' The practical effect of their exclusion from the *ἐταιρίαι* was probably no more than this, that they were exempt from military duty.

§ 10. (Ll. 47-51) *ὁς δ' [ἀν] τῶν πολ[ιτῶν] πολυδικίας*
. ἢ π[αλιν]καπηλί[ας κατα]γνώσθῃ]
ἢ λιθουργήσῃ ἢ [φο]ρηγὸς γένηται ὅτι
βάν[αυσον ἐ]ποίει [?] τὰν ἐργα[σί]αν [. οὗτος μετεχέτω ?
πολιτεύ]ματος μ[η]δέν[ο]ς.

At this stage our text becomes dehiscent with lacunae. So much can be inferred from it, that disabilities, amounting probably to total exclusion from the *πολίτευμα*, though not from the *φρατρίαι* and the 'ius privatum,' were imposed upon a class inferior to the professionals. These undesirables appear to have consisted of (i) persons convicted of certain defaming offences,¹⁰¹ (ii) those engaged in menial industry and commerce. This is obviously a surviving oligarchic taboo.¹⁰²

§ 11. (Ll. 52-53) *ὁς [ἀν] τὰς Πτολε[μ]αίου [. Π]τολεμαῖος*
κα . . σε θανάσιμος ἔσται.

Ferri interprets this clause as designed to protect Ptolemy's officers and agents from assaults or annoyances, and quotes in support an ordinance of Ptolemy at Alexandria.¹⁰³ This ordinance merely places the royal officials beyond the jurisdiction of the Alexandrian courts and does not elevate offences against them to the rank of capital crimes. Similarly the Hellenic constitution of Demetrius Poliorcetes, which is at great pains to safeguard royal emissaries, contains no such drastic sanction as a death-penalty.¹⁰⁴ If Ferri's version is correct, we have here an unusual example of severity on Ptolemy's part.

§§ 12-13. (Ll. 54-71). This passage is so completely gutted that it is

⁹⁶ Strabo, p. 483; Code of Gortyn 10. 38; Ditt. *Syll.* 527, l. 125; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 12.

⁹⁷ Aristotle, *Politics* ii. 9, p. 1271a, l. 28 ff.

⁹⁸ *Recueil des Inscriptions Juridiques Grecques*, i. pp. 410 ff.

⁹⁹ Cf. the third-century inscription (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893, p. 555), recording a grant of *ἀτελεία* to teachers.

¹⁰⁰ *Pap. Halensis*, i. ll. 260-265: *διδάσ-*

καλοι τῶν γραμμάτων and *παιδότηραι* exempt from salt tax.

¹⁰¹ *πολυδικία* a misdemeanour: Heracl. Ponticus, 4, § 5. *F.G.H.* ii. 212.

¹⁰² Aristotle, *Politics*, 1278, a 2-5, 1321, a 28: *θῆτες* disfranchised in oligarchies; at Thebes traders lose the 'ius honorum.'

Cf. also Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*, 4, § 3.

¹⁰³ *Pap. Halensis*, i. ll. 124-150.

¹⁰⁴ *Suppl. Epigr. Graecum*, i. 75, ll. 6-11.

hardly worth reproducing. But so much is clear, that it quotes a [νόμος ἐ]πὶ τῶν ἰδίων (l. 65), and is concerned with the adjudication of private claims to land and houses. These claims, no doubt had been preferred by returned émigrés, and were contested by the new possessors of their confiscated properties. The situation is illustrated by contemporary documents from Mytilene¹⁰⁵ and from Tegea,¹⁰⁶ in which equitable hearings for similar disputes are prescribed. Two points of detail deserve special comment :—

(i) In l. 60 the βουλὴ is mentioned as a court to which the claims might be carried. As a rule Greek βουλαι were not entrusted with civil jurisdiction, but *extra ordinem* they sometimes pronounced on property disputes. In the text from Mytilene the βουλὴ is commissioned to resolve ambiguities in the formula of conciliation¹⁰⁷; in a fifth-century inscription from Hestiaeae the βουλὴ pronounces upon disputes between cleruchs.¹⁰⁸

(ii) In ll. 63–64 there is a reference to ‘μισθοφόρων τῶμ Π[τ]ολ[ε]μαίου οἰκίας ἢ ἀγ[ρ]οῦς?’ Apparently these mercenaries had some special claim which complicated the general issue. Similar difficulties beset the settlement of στάσις at Syracuse c. 463 B.C.¹⁰⁹ The nature of the present contention is not clear. It may refer to billetings, which were a not infrequent source of misunderstanding between soldiers and civilians in Egypt.¹¹⁰ If, on the other hand, the restoration ‘ἀγ[ρ]οῦς’ is correct, we shall be led to infer that the Ptolemaic mercenaries had been settled as κάτοικοι in the manner which subsequently was introduced into Egypt itself on a large scale. But it hardly seems likely that Ptolemy should have instituted a ‘colonnate’ at Cyrene so soon after his occupation of the city.

§ 14. (Ll. 72–73) ὅς δ’ ἂν φρουρῶ[ν] [ἀγῶνι]μος ἔσται.

In 313 B.C. the Ptolemaic garrison was expelled bag and baggage from Cyrene, and no doubt there had been earlier affrays between the troops and the townsfolk requiring regulation. In this passage it is probably the φρουροὶ who are threatened with penalties. If so, this is one more instance of the tight hand which some of the Hellenistic rulers endeavoured to keep over their soldiery. Thus in a dispute about Egyptian billetings we find the king (Philadelphus or Euergetes) taking steps to protect the civilians against unfair encroachments.¹¹¹ In not a few cases Greek towns passed votes of thanks upon φρουραρχοὶ who ‘τοὺς στρατιώτας πάρεσχον εὐτακτοὺς,’ e.g. at Megara,¹¹² at Priene¹¹³ and Aegina.¹¹⁴

§ 15. (Ll. 74–88). The inscription ends with a list of officials appointed in the course of the first two years after the settlement :—

¹⁰⁵ Hicks and Hill, 164.

¹⁰⁶ Ditt. *Syll.* 306.

¹⁰⁷ Ll. 37–38.

¹⁰⁸ *I.G.* i.² 40, ll. 10–12; *J.H.S.* 1925, pp. 246–249.

¹⁰⁹ Diodorus, xi. 72–73.

¹¹⁰ *Pap. Halensis*, i. ll. 166–185.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*; *Pap. Tebtunis*, i. 6, ll. 99–101.

¹¹² Ditt. *Syll.* 331 (306 B.C.).

¹¹³ *Inscr. v. Priene*, 21–22.

¹¹⁴ Hicks, 189, l. 8.

(i) *ἱερεὺς*.—For some unknown reason the first occupant of the priesthood of Apollo held his post *ἐς τρίτον ἔτος*.

(ii) *στρατηγοί*.—Two successive boards are enumerated, each containing six names. Ptolemy is conspicuous and a little troublesome by his absence. But, as De Sanctis suggests, one of the six persons named on each board was probably his proxy. Similarly we find Alexander exercising his four Amphictionic votes by deputy.¹¹⁵

(iii) Nine *νομοφύλακες*.—The number of the *νομοφύλακες* has been discussed in § 7. The present group may have held office for more than one year; but the point cannot be settled.

(iv) Five *ἐφοροι*.—As this office was almost certainly annual (§ 7), it may be assumed that only the ephors of year I are here set forth.

(v) An uncertain number of *νομοθέται*.—According to De Sanctis these were the Cyrenaeans who drafted the present constitution; in Heichelheim's view they were a facsimile of the Athenian *νομοθέται*, and presumably did no more than review and register the legislation of others. On behalf of Heichelheim it might be said that *νομοθέται* (or *νομογράφοι*) of the Athenian type are a common institution of Hellenistic States.¹¹⁶ But De Sanctis supports his theory with a very apt parallel, an inscription in which a new *νόμος* of the Achaean League is subscribed by a committee of *νομογράφοι* in the same manner as our text. It therefore seems more likely that our *νομοθέται* were like the Achaean *νομογράφοι*, or like the similar boards who at this time drew up constitutions for Chios,¹¹⁷ and for Teos and Lebedus.¹¹⁸

CONCLUSION.

Two questions remain to be answered: (1) From what sources was the constitution of Cyrene derived? (2) Was the constitution oligarchic or democratic?

In regard to the first question, we have already observed that in our document there is little trace of dictation on the part of Ptolemy. The Egyptian ruler inserted some clauses on behalf of the refugees whom he had befriended (§§ 1–2, 8, perhaps 12–13). For himself he claimed: (i) a limited right to extend the franchise of Cyrene (§ 1); (ii) the power to nominate the original members of the reconstituted *γερονσία* (§ 4); (iii) a permanent place for himself on the board of *στρατηγοί* (§ 6); (iv) a temporary appellate jurisdiction on capital charges. In addition to these legal means of control, Ptolemy could, of course, exert pressure by means of his garrison. But his constitutional prerogative, at all events, was modest enough, and compares favourably with that of Demetrius Poliorcetes in his *κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων*.¹¹⁹ It is also noteworthy that Ptolemy, while safeguarding the equitable claims of the refugees, by no means gave them *carte blanche* to deal with Cyrene as they liked. These

¹¹⁵ Ditt. *Syll.* 241, ll. 150–152.

¹¹⁶ P. Cavvadias, *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχαιολ.* 1918–1919, pp. 124–128.

¹¹⁷ Hicks and Hill, 158.

¹¹⁸ Ditt. *Syll.* 344, ll. 43 ff.

¹¹⁹ *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* i. 75. In particular, Ptolemy did not exploit for himself the distinction between peace-time and war-time conditions, as Demetrius did.

émigrés were of oligarchic persuasion,¹²⁰ and, no doubt, would have liked to restrict the active franchise of Cyrene to a select class; yet in our constitution this franchise is communicated from οἱ χίλιοι to οἱ μύριοι. Thus our text confirms the impression which scholars have gained from other sources, that the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty was a liberal-minded ruler and respected the autonomy of his Greek dependants.¹²¹

Of borrowings from the constitutions of other Greek city-States there is more apparent evidence than real. The ephorate, no doubt, came from Sparta by way of Thera. The *ἐταιρίαι*, unless these were pan-Dorian, may be derived from the same source or, better, from Crete. From Athens Cyrene probably imported its *βουλή* and *δικαστήριον* of 1501 jurors, perhaps also the general outline of its *φυλαί*. For the remaining institutions, *μύριοι*, *γέροντες*, *στρατηγοί*, *νομοφύλακες*, *νομοθέται*, there are parallels in various corners of Hellenedom, and in all these cases it is doubtful whether there was any conscious borrowing and lending. In general, it may be said that the constitution of Cyrene was as much home-grown as that of most Greek States.

The answer to our second question is 'both and neither.' Oligarchic and democratic elements occur side by side and approximately balance each other. The oligarchic features are: the *γερονσία* with its life tenure, the ephorate, with its disciplinary and probuleutic powers, the *νομοφύλακες*, the special legislation concerning professional men and *βάνανσοι*, and, above all, the recurrent high age-limits. The *βουλή* and jury of 1501, the popular method of electing the *στρατηγοί*, perhaps also the *εὐθυναί* of officials and the recurrent clauses against iteration of office, are of democratic complexion. The assembly of the *μύριοι*, with its low and flat rate of *τίμημα*, is only just over the borderline on the side of oligarchy. In a word, the Cyrenaean constitution is a fair compromise between oligarchy and democracy, and accurately reflects the seesaw of contending parties out of which it arose.

But whatever conclusions may be drawn from the new Cyrenaean inscription, it is plain that it ranks as one of our major documentary sources for Greek constitutional history.

M. CARY.

ADDENDUM.

Since the completion of the above article, an important contribution to the study of the new constitution from Cyrene has been made by Th. Reinach in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1927, pp. 1-32. M. Reinach discusses at length the date of the new inscription; he comes to the same conclusion as the present author, and uses, *inter alia*, the same argument from the reference to *φυγάδες*.

Commenting on the judicial procedure set forth in § 8, ll. 36-8, M. Reinach suggests that the *γερονσία*, the *βουλή*, and the 1500 jurymen formed a composite court of 2101 persons. But ll. 40-42 seem to indicate that the 1500 acted as a court of appeal from the sentence of the *γερονσία* and *βουλή*. Whether the *γερονσία* and *βουλή* acted conjointly or in succession cannot be determined from the wording of the text.

¹²⁰ Diodorus, xviii. 22.

¹²¹ On this subject see Plaumann, *op. cit.*, and Schubart, *Klio*, 1910, pp. 41-71. Cf.

also Ditt. *Syll.* 390, in which the *κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν* thanks the first two Ptolemies for 'freeing the cities and restoring their laws.'

A PORTRAIT OF A PTOLEMAIC QUEEN

(PLATE XV.)

THE miniature head published here has not been described in detail before.¹ It was found at Naucratis during the excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1885-6, and presented by the Committee of the Fund to the British Museum in 1888. Its height, from the crown of the head to the flat base of the neck, is 59 millimetres; its length, from the tip of the nose to the circular disk at the back of the coiffure, is 56 millimetres. It is made of greyish-white clay, coated, except on the eyes and base, with a fine greenish-blue glaze; the eyes are left in the light colour of the clay, and the pupils do not appear ever to have been marked.² The thin diadem and the earrings are glazed lemon-yellow, for gold. The earrings consisted originally of a thick ring with a conical pendant; both of these pendants have been broken away from the cheek, leaving only the rings intact.

The forehead is long and receding. The arching brows are sharply defined; and the eyes are large and wide open, with delicately drawn lids. The nose is straight, fine, and round-tipped. The mouth is very short and sinuous, with deep-set corners and crisp, protuberant lips. The ball of the chin is very round; and underneath it is a full roll of flesh, with three more rolls on the neck, which is long and was evidently never attached to a body.³

The melon-coiffure consists of six ridges of hair crossing the head from ear to ear, the underside being arranged in one broad ridge. The coiffure finishes behind in a flat circular disk, not in a chignon; and thus approximates to the type which occurs on Etruscan bronze balsamaria of the third century B.C.,⁴ rather than to the type generally found on sculpture⁵ and terracottas.⁶

The modelling is Egyptian in feeling; the shapely nose with well-marked wings, the short curving mouth with prominent lips, the wide almond eyes, the crystalline modelling of the cheeks and forehead have little in common with the *sfumato* impressionistic effects of contemporary Alexandrian marble sculpture.⁷

The subject of the portrait is a woman no longer in her first youth,

¹ Brief notice by Gardner in *Naucratis*, II, Pl. XVII. 11, p. 86; short descriptions by Walters, *History of Ancient Pottery*, I, p. 129. Pl. X.; *id.*, *B.M. Catalogue of Roman Pottery*, K 7, Pl. II.

² The brown mark on the left eye is an accidental stain, not an intentional colouring of the pupil.

³ Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 87, leaves the question open; but the base of the neck is flat and unrestored, and was never inset in

a body.

⁴ E.g. *B.M. Catalogue of Bronzes*, No. 766 and others.

⁵ See the numerous examples collected by Anti in *Africa Italiana*, I. (1927), pp. 170 ff.

⁶ Weber, *Die ägyptischen Terrakotten*, II, p. 35, Pl. XXXV.

⁷ Cf., for example, a small head from Alexandria in Lord Melchett's collection: Strong, *Catalogue*, No. 25. Pl. XXXIII.

apparently about forty years of age; the diadem indicates that she is a royal personage, and therefore a Ptolemaic queen. Both Gardner and Walters have noted a resemblance between her features and those of Berenice II on her coins; but, as far as I know, our head has never found a place in the extensive but tentative group of portraits supposed at one time or another to represent the famous Cyrenaic consort of Ptolemy III Euergetes. It may therefore be of interest to examine a few of these and consider what claims they have to be regarded as effigies of Berenice II.

A moment's glance is enough to convince us that the iconography of



FIG. 1.—BERENICE II AS A GIRL, FROM CYRENE. BENGHAZI (after Anti).

Berenice is still unsatisfactory, at all events as regards her maturer years. The girlish head found in 1915 by the Italian excavators at Cyrene⁸ has been shown by Anti to correspond very closely to the coin-portraits;⁹ and we may safely take this as the basis of our attempt to reconstruct the Berenice-type (Fig. 1). Of the other heads described as portraits of her, very few deserve our serious consideration. Some are frankly impossible: the bronze head from Herculaneum in Naples does not even represent a person of her sex.¹⁰ The quasi-Egyptian head in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, which Delbrueck published as Berenice,¹¹ has been shown by Hekler¹² not to be a portrait at all; and following a suggestion of von Bissing, and taking into account its provenience, he concluded that it came from a cult-statue of Isis-Nechbet-Aphrodite. It is claimed in the catalogue of the Roman municipal collections¹³

⁸ Ghislanzoni in *Notiziario Archeologico*, IV. (1927), p. 165 f., and Fig. 8 on Pl. XXII; Anti, *op. cit.*

⁹ *B.M.C. Ptolemies*, Pl. XIII.

¹⁰ Arndt-Bruckmann, 99–100; Lehmann-Hartleben in *R.M.* XL. (1925), pp. 139 ff., suggests that it may be an imaginary portrait

of Thespis, the doyen of the Attic drama.

¹¹ *Antike Porträts*, Pl. XXVIII; the supposed resemblance to the coin-types is not easy to detect.

¹² *Oest. Jahreshefte*, XIV. (1911), p. 119.

¹³ P. 63 and Pl. XVI.

as a fine Hellenistic work of about the second century B.C.; but I should be more disposed to agree with Lawrence,¹⁴ who dates it to the early Empire. I see no particular reason for the attempt to discover the features of Berenice in the head of Isis on the plaster model for a piece of plate, now at Hildesheim;¹⁵ nor do the gems identified by Furtwängler¹⁶ seem strikingly convincing. The granite head in Vienna,¹⁷ once the property of the Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, and thought to represent Berenice in middle life, is evidently a Ptolemaic queen; on the other hand, the pronouncedly aquiline nose and the large mouth do not suit the numismatic evidence. The statue in Athens published by Svoronos¹⁸ is so much idealised and of such poor quality as to be iconographically useless.



FIG. 2.—FAYENCE HEAD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



FIG. 3.—COIN-PORTRAIT OF ARSINOË II.

We are thus thrown back upon the Cyrene head and the coins. The features which they have in common are a rounded but tall forehead, a rather

¹⁴ *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XI. (1925), p. 189. In the same article he identifies as Berenice II, but without giving any reasons, a fragment in the Alexandria museum. Less uncertain, perhaps, is the head in Tübingen found by the Sieglin expedition (II. 1 b, p. 16, Blatt 2 and Fig. 3, No. 6), which Watzinger describes as Berenice II on account of the pose of the head, the *Melonenfrisur*, and the regular features (straight nose, small chin, and fine mouth). If Berenice, it would show her in the flower of youth, about four years older than in the Cyrene head.

¹⁵ Rubens-ohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerat in antiken Gipsabgüssen*, No. 65, p. 76, Pl. XVIII.

¹⁶ *Antike Gemmen*, I. Pls. XXXII, 32 and

37; II. pp. 159 and 160.

¹⁷ R. von Schneider, *Album auserlesener Gegenstände der Antikensammlung des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Pl. XIII. 1. The ceremonial wig with long corkscrew curls resembles that of the coin-type of Libya (*B.M.C. Cyrenaica*, Pls. XXIX-XXX) and that worn by Euthenia on the Tazza Farnese (Furtwängler, *A.G.*, I. Pl. LV.); but as far as I know the only other Ptolemaic portrait to show this feature is the Lykomedes gem from the Tyszkiewicz collection (*A.G.*, I. Pl. XXXII. 31; II. p. 159). It was responsible for the erroneous identification of the Herculaneum head as Berenice.

¹⁸ *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, I. (1898), pp. 228 ff.

short and perfectly straight nose, a full mouth, and a short round chin; plump as a child, Berenice evidently became an ample Levantine matron with advancing years, as was perhaps to be expected in a daughter of Magas, who is reputed to have died from excess of adiposity.¹⁹ The subject of the British Museum head, however, shows certain notable divergencies from this type (Fig. 2): the forehead retreats; the nose is long and slightly upturned at the tip; the lips are thin and curling, not straight and full; the chin is very peculiar; and the neck is unusually long, and the three divisions are plainly marked. There is nothing to show that Berenice ever developed these features, even in later life; they do belong, however, to the type of Arsinoe II, the half-sister of Berenice's father, Magas of Cyrene. The coins of Arsinoe II²⁰ (Fig. 3) show the same long thin nose with a round tip as the British Museum head, the same prominent staring eyes, the same sharp round chin, and the same very long neck with three creases; the high diadem worn by Arsinoe, but not by Berenice, reappears on our head.

Our only guide to the iconography of Arsinoe II is the evidence of the coins; no sculptural type has been identified, and the portrait on the sardonix cameo in Vienna is much idealised and of little assistance in determining the finer shades of physiognomy.²¹ Apart, then, from its merits as a work of art, the British Museum head acquires considerable importance as the only plastic monument which can be reasonably identified as Arsinoe, the wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.²²

ROGER HINKS.

¹⁹ Athenaeus, XII. 550c, quoted from Agatharchides. I owe this reference to my colleague, Mr. E. S. G. Robinson.

²⁰ *B.M.C. Ptolemies*, Pl. VIII.

²¹ Eichler and Kris, *Die Kameen*, No. 3, Pl. I (better photo than *A.G.*, I. Pl. LIII). The identification as Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Arsinoe II is adopted by Eichler in preference to the older description as Alexander and Olympias. Furtwangler sees the features of Arsinoe on the fine intaglio from the Tyszkiewicz collection (*A.G.*, I. Pl. XXXII. 36; II. p. 159): the peculiar nose with upturned tip is certainly similar, and so is the heavy metal diadem, a

distinctive feature of the coin portraits; the head lacks character, however, and is not very helpful iconographically. Professor Jacobsthal pointed out to me that the bulging eyes and fleshy neck of the B.M. head and the coins suggest that Arsinoe suffered from exophthalmic goitre: a conjecture supported by the fate of her half-brother Magas noted above (n. 19).

²² I am indebted to Mr. E. S. G. Robinson for the coin-cast reproduced in figure 3, as well as for much help with Ptolemaic iconography; and to Mr. H. B. Walters for permission to illustrate the B.M. head from copyright photographs.

THE CRETAN DRAMA : A POSTSCRIPT

I.

Just after my paper on the Cretan Plays in the last number of this *Journal* had gone to press, a search for sources of the *Erotokritos* led me to the works of Luigi Groto, sometimes called Cieco di Hadria.¹ The version of the Romeo and Juliet story which he embodied in his *Hadriana* (1578–1583) was not as close as I had hoped to the plot of Cornaro's *Erotokritos*, but there was sufficient evidence that the *Hadriana* was known to the Cretan poet. It was therefore with some excitement that I learned that Groto had also written a biblical play called *Isach*, published in 1586 just after his death.² This play seems to be excessively rare, and neither of the specialists in Italian literature whom I have had the opportunity of consulting had ever seen it. It is therefore less surprising that it should never have been mentioned in connexion with the Cretan *Thysia tou Avraam*. It will no longer be necessary to drag in Feo Belcari or Theodore Beza. There is not the slightest doubt that the *Thysia* is directly modelled on the framework of Groto's *Isach*.

II.

It will be remembered that Xanthoudides (whose sudden death in September was a loss not only to Crete but to Greek scholarship) had noted, besides four or five identical lines, such general resemblances of diction and rhythm between the *Thysia* and the *Erotokritos* that he believed the *Thysia* might have been, if dates permitted, an early work of the author of the *Erotokritos*. This supposition is made still more probable if, a consideration of the *Erotokritos* story and of the euphuistic style of some passages having led at least one reader to the *Hadriana* of Luigi Groto, Groto's *Isach* is then discovered to have been the model for the *Thysia*. There was already, as I have noted,³ a strong presumption that Legrand's *editio princeps* of 1535 was non-existent, and that the *Thysia* was first published in 1635. Legrand's editions of 1535 and 1555 are now definitely abolished; and if, as I hope to show from internal evidence in a forthcoming paper, the *Erotokritos* was almost certainly written in 1645, there would be little reason to doubt the speculation that the author, Vincenzo Cornaro, had commenced poet ten years before by adapting the religious drama of Luigi Groto. The words *συνθεμένη μὲν παλαιόθεν διὰ στίχων ἀπλῶν* on the title-page of all early editions of the *Thysia*, hitherto assumed to refer to an older

¹ 'Which of your poets,' says Lady Politick Would-be in Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (III. 2), 'Petrarch or Tasso or Dante? Guarini? Ariosto? Aretine? Cieco di Hadria? I have read them all.'

² LO ISACH|Rappresentation noua|DI|LVIGI GROTO|CIECO D'HADRIA|

ALLA MOLTO MAG. & Reuer. Sig. Suor Orsetta Pisani|Monacha in S. Lorenzo.|Nuouamente posto in luce. [[device]] IN VENETIA|Appresso Fabio, & Agostin Zoppini Fratelli. |MDLXXXVI. The British Museum press-mark is 11715. df. 16.

³ *J.H.S.* xlviii. p. 81.

unrhymed version in Greek, are now, of course, seen to be a due acknowledgment of the Italian's blank verse.

One further point is to be noted which may have some significance in this speculation. In 1713 Antonio Bortoli, a Venetian printer, produced for a Greek publisher a new edition of the *Thysia*.⁴ The *editio princeps* of the *Erotokritos* (which had previously circulated in manuscript) was produced by the same printer in the same year. We shall be wise, in the present incomplete state of our knowledge of the literary relations between Venice and Crete, if we collect fragments of this sort without trying to arrange them in a preconceived pattern. One other such detail is the strange fact that in his pastoral play *Il Pentimento Amoro*so (1583) Groto introduces a nymph with the name of Panurgia, which is obviously a version of the Greek name Πανώρηα borne by the heroine of the *Gyparis*.

III.

The *Isach* begins with a short prologue telling the audience that they will be surprised to find themselves in Beersheba instead of in the usual Arcadia, Susa or Athens, and asking them to prepare for a short story from the Bible.

Act I. Abraham is wakened by the Angel, given the usual abrupt command, and gets hurriedly out of bed. In scene 2, with a lantern, he continues to express bewilderment and distress, but never doubt, and wonders what sin this order is intended to punish. Sarra wakes up just as he is hoping she won't, and in scene 3, after much imploring and argument, is told the trouble. She immediately concludes that this is the penalty for that famous laugh of hers, explains that it was only a laugh of joy,⁵ prays that the sentence may be revoked or that she may be slain in her son's place, and falls fainting to the ground. Her two maidservants, Ada and Tamar, run out in alarm and carry her to bed. A chorus of Handmaidens concludes the act with five stanzas about the sorrowful situation.

Act II. Abraham left alone after protesting his love for his son and lamenting his fate resolves to put away human weakness, and strong in divine love calls out his servants. In scene 2 the men run out, bearing the names which puzzled us in the *Thysia*, Siban and Sofer; and he bids them saddle the ass and load it with wood. Himself, he says with a return of human tenderness, will see about the lamb; and he must prepare knife and fire before his wife gives more trouble. The Chorus recite or sing two stanzas echoing these sentiments.

Act III. As Abraham enters ready to start, Ada and Tamar call out that their mistress is reviving. Abraham is anything but pleased (*l'annuntio*, he says, *ch'in altro tempo Mi darebbe allegrezza, hor mi da noia*), and hearing his name mentioned by Sarra, who is agonised to find herself still alive, he decides to go in and comfort her. In scene 2 Abraham expounds the will of God and the duty of obedience and gratitude to the rebellious Sarra; who is silenced only when Abraham proves to his own satisfaction that evil is necessary and that we must all be thankful that it is not much worse. She then makes him promise that before slaying Isach he will make a special effort to obtain a

⁴ This is the earliest edition in the British Museum.

⁵ A variation of Gen. xviii. 15: 'Sarah denied, saying, I laughed not.'

respite or at least a postponement; he says he still has eight days. Scene 3. While Sarra still weeps, Abraham wakes Isach and tells him to dress himself quickly; they are going off to sacrifice. Isach asks his mother why she kisses him good-bye so tearfully. We will soon return, says Abraham, telling Isach to go ahead and the servants to follow. Scene 4. Isach asks why they have made such an early and mournful start, and is put off with brief answers by Abraham; who now tells the servants to wait here, where the branches are too thick for the donkey to pass, and Isach to take the faggots on his back and go ahead. Scene 5. The two servants Siban and Sofer left alone wonder what is up with the old people getting up in the middle of the night and crying and groaning; but instead of pursuing the inquiry they decide to find a sheltered corner where they can lie down and go to sleep. The Chorus, who have apparently followed up, sing a short ode to the effect that although all is for the best, no one could be expected to keep a dry eye.

Act IV. Abraham is saying it was all his own fault for ever having asked for a son, when they arrive at the summit, and Isach is asking why they had to come such a long way, and where the lamb is, and wanting to help build the altar. When the altar is ready he is told to take his coat off and have his hands bound, such being God's will. Abraham prays; that for Sarra's sake, to whom he had lied saying he had eight days when he only had three, or for the innocent boy's sake, the sentence may be changed or else their parental love; or that God should kill the boy himself. Isach prays that if he must die the years taken from him may be given to his parents, and that they may have another son; he wishes he could say good-bye to his mother. It is no use, says Abraham, you must return to immortal life and joy; you must die now like a flower cut down by the plough.⁶ Turn your head so as not to see fire or steel. Do not speak or I shall die. Behold thy will, O Lord.

In scene 2, the Angel appears to stay the sacrifice and points out the lamb caught in a thicket, which comes up of its own accord and is duly slaughtered. Abraham gives thanks at some length, and when Isach suggests that they should return home as soon as possible, he blesses him, wishing him great increase and abundance. In scene 3, Siban and Sofer are discussing whether they should disobey the letter of his orders and go after him when Abraham appears, explains the cause of his former sorrow, and sends Sofer on ahead to tell Sarra that all is well; and Isach is to ride home on the donkey. The Chorus sing an ode on the mysterious and wonderful ways of the Lord, and decide to return to the support of their mistress, who will now be overcome with joy.

Act V. Ada, who has been sent out to look for Abraham's party, is wandering towards the mountains when she meets Sofer returning, and they decide to go back together and break the good news to Sarra. Scene 2. Siban tells Abraham, who protests mildly, that his righteousness is really remarkable and that the memorable history will long be adorned with praise and with dramatic representation—(*e rappresenterassi in ricche scene Lo spettacolo mesto, e poi gioioso*). Scene 3. Sarra, after one glance at Sofer's glad face, is setting out

⁶ This famous simile which passed from Vergil to Ariosto (*Orl. Fur.* xviii. 153) is also found in the *Eratokritos* (IV. 1887) as

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well as in Groto's *Hadriana* (I. 3. 172); and I have no doubt that search would produce further specimens.

again, joy having banished her weariness; and Ada calls out the other maid-servants to accompany her; when Abraham enters and tells her to keep calm. Sarra continues unaffectedly to rejoice over Isach; who interposes the remark that this was not the first mark of God's favour in the family, his own birth having been the result of a divine interference. At this moment a messenger enters and informs Abraham that his brother's wife Melcha has just presented him with a son. And now even Abraham is overjoyed at this crown of blessings and plays up to Sarra's outpourings of reverent gratitude. The Angel reappears, and announces God's promise that sands and stars shall be fewer than their blessed descendants; that man shall never be sacrificed again until in due time the divine man, the only worthy victim, comes down to earth; and that out of Isach shall come forth twelve tribes. This trial, he adds, was only imposed in order that faith might shine clear over all the earth and be doubly rewarded. Abraham says it was well worth it: and the Angel tells the audience to go home with a blessing and learn to obey and to suffer without murmuring.

IV.

If this brief but faithful summary of the *Isach* be compared with my summary of the *Thysia* in the last number of this *Journal*,⁷ it should be possible to form a fair estimate of the relation of the two plays. And lest anyone should ever rise up and declare that the *Thysia* was the earlier of the two (and that Legrand really did see an edition of 1535), it should be noted at once that Groto keeps much closer to an academic average of correct sentiment and much closer to the book of Genesis. It is not possible to believe for a moment that if he had been translating or adapting the Greek he would have omitted all the many original touches which give the *Thysia* its literary value.

The *Isach* is much longer than the *Thysia*—with the 75 lines of prologue it numbers 1626 lines and the *Thysia* only 1154—yet it seems much emptier, for the discussion is dreary and the characters remain biblical dummies. There can be no doubt, apart from the tell-tale names of Sibon and Sofer, that the two plays are structurally identical; but it is the Greek artist who has added the poetry and humanity, and his merit will not be diminished by the discovery that the *Thysia* was painted from an Italian model. Entirely his is the picture of the boy Isaac, with his talk of schoolmaster and schoolfellows, and his pears in his pocket, and alive from the minute he is woken up; and another Greek invention of real value are the sceptical arguments of Sofer, which are only secured by admitting the two servants into the secret of the proposed sacrifice. Groto's only attempt at original invention, Abraham's story that he had been given a time limit of eight days, is merely silly, and so is Sarah's stipulation that he should pray for a postponement. Nor is he more happy when he returns to the text of the biblical narrative and tries to make a dramatic climax to his last act by announcing the birth of a son to Abraham's brother Nahor,⁸ whose wife Milcah, as we all know, was mother of that memorable family 'Huz his firstborn, and Buz his brother, and Kemuel the father of Aram, and Chesed, and Hazo, and Pildash, and Jidlaph, and Bethuel.'

JOHN MAVROGORDATO.

⁷ *J.H.S.* xlviii. pp. 82-85.

⁸ Genesis xxii. 20-24.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

The Palace of Minos: Vol. II, Pts. 1 and 2. By SIR ARTHUR EVANS. Pp. xxii + 844; 31 plates, 559 illustrations in the text. London: Macmillan & Co., 1928. £7 7s.

The second volume of *The Palace of Minos* has followed the first after an interval of seven years, in which a good deal has happened in the realm of prehistoric Greek archaeology, especially as regards its earlier period. Sir Arthur Evans is therefore unable to proceed simply forward with 'the comparative account of the successive stages of the Early Cretan civilisation as illustrated by the discoveries at Knossos' at the point at which he left off in 1921, the end of the Third Middle Minoan period. He, quite rightly, does not go on with the First Late Minoan Age until after he has reviewed the advances of the past seven years in our knowledge of the period covered by the first volume. And this necessary review takes up a great portion of the first part of the new volume. On account of its otherwise unwieldy size, the book has been divided into two separate parts; the first describing 'Fresh Lights on Origins and External Relations. The Restoration in Town and Palace after Seismic Catastrophe towards close of M.M. III., and the Beginnings of the New Era,' the second, 'Town-Houses in Knossos of the New Era and Restored West Palace Section, with its State Approach.' The two parts together total 844 pp. of text, with 559 text illustrations, and 31 plates; so that it is evident that to have included the whole in one volume would have made it impossibly bulky and heavy: the first volume, with 721 pp., is uncomfortably heavy. Much remains for Sir Arthur to describe in a third volume, and again he will have to take up the threads of the years that are now passing and revise former views in the light of fresh discoveries before going on to the description of the later Palace period (L.M. II.); and it is most probable that again he will be able to point with pardonable pride, as he does in the present volume, to the fact that his previous views have only been confirmed by later discovery. Sir Arthur's 'I told you so' is justified; and his pronouncements are always weighty, in view of his immense knowledge of archaeology, and his long personal experience of excavation. In this volume, as before, he shows the vast range of his knowledge and the apposite way in which he can use his classical scholarship to illustrate it. His footnotes are as ever a mine of learned references, into which it is wonderful that so few minor errors and misprints have crept. The labour of correcting the proofs of such a book must have been immense, and Sir Arthur has, we understand, undertaken the work almost entirely himself. If one wishes to do a thing well, no doubt it is advisable to do it one's self, and nobody but the author himself could ever have corrected his references so well. There are, however, slips here and there: thus on p. 266 there is something wrong with the reference (note 4) to a Babylonian cylinder in the Candia Museum, described by Dr. Legrain. The transliteration of the inscription has been badly misprinted. It should read *A-pi-il-Istar mar ^{ilu}Marduk-mu-sa-lim Warad ^{ilu}Nabi-um*. The small *ilu* (= god) preceding the names of Marduk and Nabu has been attached to the previous word, and has been deformed so that *mar ^{ilu}* becomes '*Marie*,' *Warad ^{ilu}* '*Warad^{ilic}*.' In note 3 'Aja' in English transliteration is Aia, as 'Shamas' should be Shamash (Samas). On p. 757 too there is an odd inversion: note 2 should read, 'the Kaši . . . were Nubian Kushites, not Kossaeans or Kassites': it reads, 'were Kushites, not Nubian Kossaeans, . . .' etc. It is, however, really remarkable that so few misprints can be found. The ascription of a L.M. I. date to the pottery bull's head rhyton with ivy-decoration, from Amisus in Pontus, illustrated as a comparison on p. 659 (Fig. 422), is puzzling. Normally one would have thought it classical. If it is L.M. I. it is a good example of the continuity and unity of Greek art in certain of its branches, such as pottery-decoration.

Sir Arthur writes his book in the characteristic way of the first volume, to which we are accustomed from him; in an easy almost conversational style that leads agreeably on from one object to another, one period to another, one part of the palace to another, illustrated always by copious pictures and with chapter and verse given below in the notes. It is the only readable way of publishing excavations. After all,

excavators owe a debt to the cultivated as well as to the learned public, and their books should be made interesting and informing to others besides other excavators. The mere catalogue type of book costs as much and nobody looks at it except perhaps half-a-dozen students of archaeology or other workers in the same field. A readable volume like Sir Arthur's will have its other readers. It would have had many more had its price been less. However, we suppose that an 'economic' price has to be charged for such books, when they are not produced by Societies that will knowingly and of intention publish at a loss, recouping themselves (if necessary) in other ways.

We pass then with Sir Arthur again over the old ground of Neolithic Knossos to the matter of the early Nilotic connexions, of which he had found new confirmation in the past seven years, and the interesting road from Komó on the southern coast to Knossos, which he has discovered since the publication of the first volume. This road leads us to its great entrance to the palace, also recently discovered, with the 'Caravansarai' and its 'partridge frescoes,' the viaduct over the Vlychiás brook, and the ascent to the Southern porch, all work of the Middle Minoan period remodelled after the earthquake that laid Knossos low in M.M. III. This convulsion is illustrated by other Cretan earthquakes, including that of June 26, 1926, which is well described, with its incident of the marble table at the Villa Ariadne dancing a *pas seul*, which the reviewer, who was on the roof of the house at the time, was privileged to observe during his hasty descent to a *terra* that for a minute or two was by no means *firma*! (This short experience, with the trees round the house swaying and rocking in all directions at once, the full moon glaring through a fog of red dust, and the shrieks and yells of the people at the *metochi* hard by, was as fantastic as anything at Knossos ought to be: exactly like a nightmare.) The effect of the ancient Middle Minoan shock on the palace was very great, so great that in spite of heavy rebuilding it never wholly recovered from it, and whole rooms were abandoned in the S.E. quarter above the Kairatos slope, and were discovered crushed by displaced masonry. They were apparently filled in and the remains of a propitiatory sacrifice in the shape of bull-skulls and tripod altars were found, so that it looks as if life had been lost in the catastrophe, as is probable enough. But no human bones were found: possibly the dead were removed.

The new palace of the Great Rebuilding now claims the reader's attention, the influence on its formation of the catastrophe and its relation to its environs. The newly-discovered M.M. chamber-tombs (very important as showing that the chamber-tomb occurs on Crete at an earlier date than on the mainland of Greece), which have been excavated by Mr. Forsdyke with the help of the British School (to which Knossos has now been conveyed by Sir Arthur), are mentioned, and the extent of the surrounding city of Knossos itself is discussed, though it has hardly been excavated at all yet, with the exception of such outlying houses as the 'Royal Villa' (L.M. I.), the N.E. House, and the 'House of the Frescoes,' with its newly-discovered wall-paintings of the monkeys and the negro soldiers. Then, after the 'Little Palace' has been described, we come to the great palace building itself, of the Late Minoan I. period, the 'Broad Knossos' of Homeric tradition, with its halls, its frescoed corridors and its South Propylaeum. This was the period of naturalism in art, with its free renderings of plant and sea motives, which is fully described and exemplified by Sir Arthur. A remarkable example of marine naturalism is published for the first time, a fragment of a carved vase, showing an octopus hiding behind fretted rocks, with one eye balefully regarding the observer, the other being hidden by the rock (Figs. 130, 307; pp. 227, 503). This is an outstanding object of Minoan art. The vase to which it belongs is one of these 'rhytons' developed from ostrich-shell vases, as Sir Arthur shows, which are still so misunderstood in some quarters; e.g. by Persson in his recent *Kungägraven i Dendrä*.

To this age and this last part of the palace belong the famous frescoes of the Cupbearer and the 'Priest-King' (though whether he is a priest-king or not rather a god of the other world we may doubt), which here find their due place and description and final illustration. The 'Priest-King' has passed through several stages of reconstruction since the discovery of his painted stucco relief-fragments, and on Pl. XIV (Pt. II, frontispiece) we see the final form of his discoverer's conception of his original appearance, walking amid a parterre of lilies, while a butterfly (emblem of the soul?) hovers near him. Reproductions of him and of the Cupbearer, with restorations of the latter's companions in procession (based by M.

Gilliéron, working with the evidence of his figure, on little in some cases but their feet, all that sometimes remains of them : a good example of *ex pede Herculem* !), have been placed by Sir Arthur in approximately their original positions and roofed over (Pl. XXIX). The originals of course remain in the Candia Museum. Other similar partial restorations of the palace have been carried out by Sir Arthur, in order to give an idea of its original appearance, in painted ferro-concrete, affording a prospect of permanence better than that of the original reconstructions in iron, wood and stone, which have rusted, warped and otherwise suffered from the sun and rain of twenty years. Opinions may differ as to the appearance of some of these partial reconstructions; but the 'South House,' outside and below the South Propylaeum, as so partly restored, though it looks like a modern house that had been wrecked by a shell, yet gives an admirable idea to the visitor of how a Minoan house must have appeared.

The Cupbearer's Procession gives Sir Arthur the reason to collect and republish some of the Egyptian wall-paintings in the tombs of the XVIIIth Dynasty at Thebes that show similar processions of Minoan Cretan ambassadors to Egypt in the sixteenth-fifteenth century B.C., nearly contemporaneous with the Knossian frescoes, which are L.M. I. He illustrates these from the beautiful facsimiles by Mrs. de Garis Davies and from Prof. Newberry's and Mr. Davies's drawings, which now fully displace the inaccurate drawings of Virey and the crude and clumsy coloured pictures by W. M. Müller in his *Egyptological Researches*, which have too long been regarded as reliable reproductions of the originals. Sir Arthur naturally regards these Egyptian pictures as representing Cretans, although he does not deny the possibility that tribes of Minoan or Minoising culture lived in Cilicia and may have been included in the Egyptian term 'Keftiu' (Kaphtor).

The coloured illustrations of the Knossian frescoes are admirable, and could hardly be bettered; Plate IX, however, of M.M. II pottery is not very pleasing in tone. The plans of the palace are by Mr. Theodore Fyfe, Mr. Christian Doll and Mr. Piet de Jong : old ones have been brought up to date.

With these great buildings and frescoes of L.M. I. the volume ends. It deals much less than the first volume, as is natural, with non-Knossian remains, but such recent discoveries as the M.M. I. palace of Mallia and the remarkable sword and axe found in it by the French excavators are described and illustrated. The axehead, with its fantastic shape of a leopard springing, much recalls the fantastic forms of the Caucasian axeheads of Koban type, as also does the Persian lion-axe from Ecbatana, published by Sir Arthur (Fig. 165c). Taken together with the resemblance of the great Mallia sword to early Caucasian bronze swords (Zakhárov, *Kavkaz, Maloya Aziya, i Egeiskii Mir*; see *Klio*, Aug. 1927) it seems to show a distinct connexion of the early Middle Minoan weapon-working with the Caucasian region.

In this volume Knossos itself becomes the centre of the picture. Its appearance means that the most important material has now been published. We may hope that it will not be long before Sir Arthur is able to issue his third volume, and so bring his great work to a successful completion, with it crowning the greatest of British archaeological undertakings, which he with the help of Dr. Duncan Mackenzie has carried through at his own expense during the last quarter of a century.

H. R. H.

Καρπαθιακά Μνημεία: Α'. Δημοτικά τραγούδια Καρπάθου, ήτοι συλλογή
 πάντων των έκδεδομένων και άνεκδότων Καρπαθιακών τραγουδιών, μετά
 εισαγωγής περί της Καρπαθίας διαλέκτου. By Μ. Γ. Μιχαηλίδου Νουάρου.
 Pp. 340. Ἀθήναι, τύποις Π. Χαλκιοπούλου, ὁδὸς Γερανίου 11, 1928.
 60 dr. = 4 shillings.

The author of this excellent and important book is a native of Karpathos. This is by no means his first book, and for Karpathos he has already published a book on the curious system of popular law, by which landed property comes to be held almost entirely by women : a system formerly found also in the Cyclades, but now hardly surviving outside

the Dodecanese, and more in Karpathos than anywhere else.¹ In this present book he has made a *corpus* of the songs of Karpathos, by bringing together songs from three sources: (1) All the songs printed in the earlier published collections, notably of Manolakakis and of the Symi scholar Dimitrios Khaviaras. (2) Unpublished songs sent in MS. to the 'Literary Syllagos of Constantinople.' (3) Unpublished songs which he has himself collected. The earlier collections had one considerable fault: they did not pay sufficient attention to the most interesting and peculiar dialect of the island. Mr. Mikhailidis has now remedied this defect, and also prefixed a sketch of the dialect, making the proper distinction between the different villages, for the dialect is far from being uniform over the whole island. He rightly dwells upon the extraordinary interest of the dialect of Elympos, the very secluded village at the north end of the island. A criticism I would make here is on the question of the pronunciation of the sounds written $\kappa\kappa$, $\pi\pi$, $\tau\tau$. When I went first to Karpathos in 1903 I was in agreement with Mr. Mikhailidis, that they are held voiceless stops:² but a fuller acquaintance with the dialects of the Dodecanese, and a second visit to Karpathos in 1916, incline me to think that they are in fact rather aspirated stops. It is always possible that both elements, holding and aspiration, are present; the aspiration, when in 1916 I was on the look-out for it, seemed to be quite strong.³ Also at Mesokhori the palatal χ seemed to me to have rather the sound of the English *ch* than that of *ts*, which the author would give it: the *ch* sound, being beyond the scope of the Greek alphabet, sometimes escapes the attention of Greeks. But here no foreigner can hold out against a native so skilled as Mr. Mikhailidis. He lays proper emphasis on a very striking peculiarity of the dialect of Karpathos, that in some villages certain palatals of common Greek are given a velar sound: thus in Elympos χ , and in Spoa and Mesokhori χ , are pronounced before *e* and *i* with the same velar sound that they have before *a*, *o* and *u*. This the writer correctly points out must be inherited from ancient Greek, though all the rest of the language has taken another path, and shows that in this dialect very ancient elements are preserved. But the velar sound is not preserved in Karpathos alone. In 1905 I was in Thera, and went across the harbour to the opposite island of Therasia; here too—I quote my notes—'instead of χ' and χ'' . χ and χ are heard: Thus, e.g., the χ in $\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ is pronounced just like the χ in $\epsilon\chi\omega$, and the χ in $\chi\chi\iota$ like the χ in $\chi\chi\omega$.'

To each song the author has added notes, and there is further a glossary. The songs are of the highest interest from the literary and folklore aspect as well as for their language, and the student who wishes to know something of the history of later Greek and how people were talking in the Middle Ages can hardly study this book too much. Italian and Turkish words do occur, but here, as rarely in Greek, there are a fully equal number of the Latin words of which Byzantine Greek was full, and which have now so largely disappeared. And in addition there are many ancient words preserved and many odd usages, all of which cast the greatest light on the mediaeval language. Of all Greek songs, those from the islands are no doubt the finest, and this is probably the best collection of songs from any one island that has yet been made. It is interesting to compare it with an equally representative collection from Crete, the *Ἀισματὰ Κρητικὰ* of Jannaris: the contrast between the fiery Cretan and the quieter, more lyrical tone of the Dodecanesian songs is very evident. In every way the book does credit to the learning and patriotism of the author, and it is the more welcome as all the printed sources, apart from the much-improved form in which he reproduces them, are now only to be obtained, if at all, with the greatest difficulty. It is good news to hear that this book is to be followed by a *History of Karpathos, Folklore Miscellanies from Karpathos*, and a *Lexicon and Grammar of the Dialect*. It is to be hoped that a good sale of the present collection will encourage Mr. Mikhailidis to carry through this work to the glory of his native island.

R. M. D.

¹ *Νομικά ἔθιμα τῆς Δωδεκανήσου*, Athens, 1926. For a brief account of this custom with references, see *B.S.A.*, ix. p. 197, and x. p. 102.

² For which see *B.S.A.*, x. p. 91.

³ The fact seems to be that the prolonged or held stops, *consonnes dont l'occlusion a été prolongée*, $\kappa\kappa$, $\pi\pi$, $\tau\tau$, tend to develop into aspirated stops, and both pronunciations are very probably to be heard in Karpathos. This Pernot found was the case in Chios, the only one of this group of dialects which has been examined by a skilled phonetician: for which see his *Phonétique des parlers de Chio*. pp. 383–90 and 409–15.

Apollonius Rhodius: the Story of Medea. Edited by J. H. E. CREES and J. C. WORDSWORTH. Pp. xv + 83. (Pitt Press Series.) Cambridge University Press, 1927. 3s. 6d.

This book, by the headmaster of Hereford Grammar School and one of his staff, appears to be the first attempt to provide an English school edition of the famous episode upon which the reputation of Apollonius rests. The text includes the entire third book and the first 211 lines of the fourth book of the *Argonautica*, carrying the story from the landing of the Argo at Colchis to the carrying off of the Golden Fleece. The Greek presents a good many difficulties to the beginner, in which he will find judicious help extended to him by the brief notes. Special attention is rightly devoted to the style and the literary connexions of the poem. Altogether the book constitutes a desirable addition to the Greek texts available for school use.

V. S.

The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of W. D. ROSS. Vol. VII. *Problemata*. By E. S. FORSTER. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 15s.

Aristotle himself would appear to be rather distantly connected with the contents of the latest volume of the English edition, for although he is known to have written a work entitled *Προβλήματα*, to which some of the matter in the present miscellany can be traced back, the greater part of this is much later, and there is reason for supposing that it did not receive its final form until as late as the fifth or sixth century A.D. Still, if not Aristotelian, it is at any rate Peripatetic, and certainly a good deal more in the classical spirit than the mediaeval tract purporting to be *Aristotelis Problemata*. It is divided into 38 books, ranging over a great variety of subjects, but most of the problems which it propounds and suggests one or more answers to are ultimately medical. Professor Forster's translation is careful and clear, and a moderate quantity of footnotes assist comprehension, especially in the section on music, where they are greatly needed.

V. S.

Apuleius and his Influence. By ELIZABETH HAZELTON HAIGHT. G. G. Harrap & Co., 1927. [Our Debt to Greece and Rome, No. 52.] Pp. xi + 190. 5s.

This book proceeds along the usual lines of the series in which it is included, beginning with an account of the life and writings of Apuleius and going on to a sketch of his influence from the Middle Ages to the present time, with an additional chapter forming a guide to pictorial representations of Cupid and Psyche. It is a conscientious piece of work and will doubtless prove useful to certain classes of student; but the inquiring reader will still be at a loss, when he has done with it, to understand why exactly he is to consider the Apuleian writings 'modern, stimulating and of infinite variety,' all of which is claimed on their behalf by the introductory note.

V. S.

Aristophanes: the Birds and the Frogs. Translated into rhymed English verse by MARSHALL MACGREGOR. London: E. Arnold & Co., 1927. Pp. vii + 134. 12s. 6d.

These translations, which were originally made for Mr. MacGregor's lectures at Bedford College, break new ground, as far as Aristophanes is concerned, by their use of rhyme for the iambic as well as for the choric parts of the two comedies. The experiment is quite successful and compares favourably with the rather old-fashioned blank verse of Frere and even of Rogers; altogether, indeed, there is an up-to-date ring about this version (although 'O Sparrow, Cybele, Queen, mother of Daniel Lambert,' is not immediately recognisable nowadays). The rhythms, however, tend to be rather excessively rough, even to the point

of obscuring the sense in places, and in the choruses of the *Birds* Frere appears to be decidedly better reading. Everywhere the book gives evidence of Mr. MacGregor's living interest in his author: there is a stimulating introduction on the form and spirit of Aristophanic comedy, and a number of good points as to certain readings in the Greek are made in an appendix.

V. S.

Körperkultur im Altertum. By JULIUS J. JÜTHNER. Pp. 76, with 26 illustrations. Jena: Fischer, 1928. 4.50 m.

Dr. Jüthner is a master of his subject, and in this little book, which is one of a series of *Medizin-historische Beiträge*, he provides the general reader with an interesting and learned account of what the modern sciences of physical culture and hygiene owe to the ancients, and especially to the Greeks. 'The aim of the Cult of the body is fourfold—cleanliness, health, strength, beauty.' It is with the first two that Dr. Jüthner is here chiefly concerned. Particularly interesting is his well-illustrated account of Greek and Roman washing arrangements and baths. The sunbath, the hot-air bath, the sand bath, the mud bath were all known to the Greeks. Exposure of the body to the air, bathing, massage, the use of oil were essentials in the Greek system, and their importance after centuries of neglect is now being more and more recognised. Perhaps Dr. Jüthner exaggerates the progress made in Hellenistic and Roman times. When we remember the utterly unscientific method of training imposed on professional athletes in this period, we may doubt whether the trainers and attendants in the public baths and gymnasia really possessed the knowledge to prescribe for the individual requirements of their patrons.

The book is intended for the general reader, but the absence of references to quotations is to be regretted. The student must turn for these to Dr. Jüthner's excellent edition of Philostratos' *Über Gymnastik*. On the other hand, references are given to all the illustrations and there is a useful index.

E. N. G.

Des Byzantins et des Étrangers dans Constantinople au Moyen-Age. By CHRISTO M. MACRI. Pp. 118. Paris: Librairie R. Guillon, 1928. 15 fr.

This little book is suggestive, rather than profound. It gives a rapid survey of the various foreign elements in Constantinople, chiefly from the period of the Crusades to the fall of the Byzantine Empire, that is to say, the epoch in which the Venetians above all, and, to a lesser degree, the Genoese and Pisans, became important factors in Byzantine life. A short section is devoted to the Jews also, who never seem to have attained to great importance in the capital. The author maintains that, taken as a whole, the Court dominated Byzantine economic life, and that it exercised a strict control over the trade-guilds, as is shown in the *Book of the Prefect*; that, although these guilds may have gained greater independence after 1261 in the revived Greek Empire of the Palaeologi, yet they were hampered by tradition, and that trade fell increasingly into the hands of foreigners, particularly the Venetians. These, not content with their trading advantages, gradually undermined the power of the Empire politically. Much of what the author says is conjectural, but it is suggestive, and will stimulate further inquiry.

Grammatik der neugriechischen Volkssprache. By ALBERT THUMB. Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. By JOHANNES E. KALITSUNAKIS. Pp. 176. Sammlung Götschen. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1928.

This little grammar of popular Greek is thoroughly to be recommended. Its method is strictly scientific, and the arrangement is very good. It is indeed refreshing to get such a grammar in which popular Greek is dealt with so admirably, since too many modern Greek grammars confine themselves mainly to the literary language. Perhaps the most striking

feature of this little work is the astonishing amount of information which is packed in a very small compass. Besides the grammar proper, which is excellently done, there is a very up-to-date bibliography, not confined to grammatical works, an instructive table of ancient and modern forms of place-names, a list of the suffixes used in the popular language, a list of verbs with idiomatic expressions used in connexion with them, and a few extracts from literary works in the popular language. Altogether an admirable little book.

The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople, 1554-62. Newly translated from the Latin of the Elzevir edition of 1633 by EDWARD SEYMOUR FORSTER. Pp. xvi + 265. One map, 3 illustrations. Oxford University Press, 1928.

It was a happy thought of Professor Forster to issue a new and handy translation of the four fascinating Turkish letters of this many-sided Fleming, who served the Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I as Ambassador at Constantinople during eight critical years. They were addressed to a fellow-student of Busbecq, Nicholas Michault, and were never intended for publication. Their unstudied nature adds to their charm, and they are certainly worthy of a wide audience, for they give us a picture of Constantinople under Soleiman the Magnificent which could not be surpassed for vividness and interest. Busbecq was no mere diplomatist, but an acute observer and a man of wide culture, steeped in classical literature, interested in the fauna and flora of Asia Minor, a collector of animals tame and wild, the earliest copyist of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, and preserver of the relics of the fast-decaying Crim-Gothic language. It is difficult to select from the almost embarrassing riches of information contained in these letters. We have admirable pictures of the grim Soleiman, intriguing Pashas, the efficient Turkish war-machine, social customs attractive and repellent, and last but not least of the menagerie kept by the Ambassador during his enforced stay at Constantinople. The translation runs easily and seems to reproduce the attractive style of the original. The reviewer has been constantly reminded of the letters of another Ambassador at Constantinople, those of Sir Thomas Roe, who wrote some sixty years later in the time of Murad IV. They are hardly inferior in interest to those of Busbecq, and are, like his, those of a many-sided man, steeped in classical literature. Curiously, whereas Busbecq mentions the rejection of printing by the Turks, Roe describes the introduction of the first printing-press into Constantinople. Both Ambassadors were keenly interested in classical antiquities. It may be hoped that one day Roe's letters will be republished in as handy a form as the present edition of Busbecq. The reviewer would also like to call special attention to the very detailed account of Turkish military organisation and weapons, which it is interesting to compare with the account given of them in an anonymous contemporary description of the Siege of Vienna in 1683, translated into Greek by Jeremias Cacavelas. In all essentials, Turkish military organisation and weapons appear to have been the same in 1683 as they were in 1560. Professor Forster adds short notes to his translation; some of these are informing, but the more elementary explanations of classical allusions might have been dispensed with. There is a useful index. The work may be thoroughly recommended as both instructive and entertaining.

F. H. M.

Dacia: An outline of the early civilisations of the Carpatho-Danubian countries. By VASILE PÂRVAN. Pp. x + 216; 16 plates. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Vasile Pârvan was one of those rare scholars who in their writings can give a bird's-eye view of their subject while at the same time pointing out every detail of the landscape. He had the same gifts as Prof. Haverfield.

This posthumous publication of a course of lectures delivered at Cambridge the year before his death serves to call attention to his work. No other scholar has as yet attempted

to combine the ancient history and the prehistory of Rumania and Hungary into one conspectus. Dr. Pârvan has the unusual merit of being a historian who is also an excavator, and his publications of the monuments of Histria and other sites form no small part in the vast amount of evidence which he has accumulated, both for the Greek and for the Roman period.

The author makes a case for a continuity of culture and a homogeneity of race that covers over fifteen hundred years. The 'earliest origins,' he says (p. 148), of the Daco-Roman people, 'at any rate from the ethnographic point of view, go back to the Bronze Age.' This area and the people inhabiting it were subject to Western rather than to Eastern influences. 'First the Villanovans, then the Celts, pupils, both of them, of the advanced civilisation of the Eastern Mediterranean, bring Hellenic influences to bear upon the Dacians, but in Western garb. In this sense the arrival of the Romans was to afford no new surprise for the Daco-Getae.'

The history of Dacia is thus a history closely controlled by geography. In the Bronze Age the region of the Hungarian plains and their geographical continuation up to the Transylvanian plateau constituted the greatest contribution to European culture that existed independently of the Mediterranean. The artistic quality and the actual wealth of the Hungarian and Rumanian Bronze Age were the result of an undisturbed culture in a wealthy land that was open to commerce but at the same time firmly established in its own mode of culture. In his first chapter Dr. Pârvan describes how gradually the enterprise and commerce of the North Italian Iron Age penetrated along the Save and the Drina valleys into the Danube basin and so spread its wares far and wide. The preponderance of 'Villanovan' objects of import and artistic influences is astonishing. The nature of the objects, further, indicates that the purchasing power of the country was considerable; there is more direct evidence for this in the shape of the enormous bracelets and other trappings in gold of chieftains that belong to the late Bronze Age. In fact the chieftains of these parts bear close analogies in their mode of life with Homeric chieftains (p. 26), and Dacia was rich and prosperous.

The culture of Hallstatt had little or no influence, and it was Italy who first introduced the Iron Age. At the same time an Iron Age proper did not begin until quite late, in the ninth or eighth century (p. 31). It was heralded by the movements westwards of the Scythians and Cimmerians which culminated about 700 B.C. in a definite Scythian domination of the country. This domination seems to have destroyed the old aristocracy, and the invaders settled in three compact groups, one in Northern Hungary, one in Southern Transylvania and one in the Wallachian plain.

Gradually, however, these Scythians were absorbed into the population—for they had never been more than an army of occupation—and the Dacians, whose culture had been arrested rather than destroyed, resumed their normal existence. But now the Greeks from the Pontic ports penetrated their land and brought far into the Carpathians and to the head-waters of the Pruth and Sereth the wines and trinkets of Greece. Here Pârvan makes it quite clear that Hellenic influence in Dacia was never either profound or very significant. The Dacians had been too long under Western influences during their Bronze Age and had too independent a culture of their own to absorb either the styles or the manners of Greece, still less the Greek language. Hence Greek influence, although from Histria it controlled the whole Danube mouth and made it a Greek river even as far as Giurgiu, never had any lasting effect. Tyras and Olbia in the same way controlled the region north of the Dobrudja and gave Herodotus his comparatively full information about the Scythians and Getae of these parts. Dacia, in fact, contrasts strongly with Thrace, which was deeply Hellenised and which kept its Hellenism all through the Roman period.

'Where the Greeks failed the Celts succeeded brilliantly' (p. 109), says the author, and he shows how the accustomed routes from the west once more brought Western influence, in fact Western control, in the La Tène civilisation. From Celts to Romans was but a step, and the author shows how Dacia was penetrated and overrun by Roman traders and agents long before Roman arms made it moderately safe, almost two centuries before Trajan came. With Rome Dacian history was an epic story of swaying fortunes. But all the time Dacians were absorbing Roman methods and Roman culture, and in the end the veterans and colonies which were planted there gradually developed the already Westernised

culture of the country and ultimately Latinised it. Latin had long before Trajan been the diplomatic language of the country, not Greek, and Celtic ways adopted under the La Tène regime harmonised well with Roman. Where Thrace was subdued by the draining of her manhood into the ranks of the Roman army and the subjugation of the remaining mountaineers by force, Dacia was absorbed and adapted, not by Roman arms so much as by Roman methods. Ultimately Christianity came not in its Eastern but in its Western form, and the apostle of the Romano-Getic peoples was a Latin, Bishop Nicetas of Remesiana.

S. C.

Lysippos. By FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON. Pp. xii + 334, with frontispiece and 61 plates. Durham (North Carolina): Duke University Press, 1927. 37s. 6d.

Had Mr. Johnson contented himself with collecting and summarising the opinions of others upon Lysippos and his art, he would still have earned the gratitude of students of Greek sculpture. He has, however, done a good deal more than this: he has followed up his minute and detailed examination of the individual works that have at one time or another been ascribed to Lysippos with a brief and sensible résumé in which he gives us the quintessence of his investigations into the problem of that master and his style. Not much emerges as Lysippic after Mr. Johnson's rigorous scrutiny: the Agias disappears as a *point d'appui*, and the Apoxyomenos, though not absolutely rejected (as by Mme. Maviglia), is suspended half-way between Lysippos and the wholly conjectural Daippos. Finally, we are left with such comfort as we may derive from the Thebes base, the 'Old Fountain' base, and the base for the statue of Polydamas, and with three works which Mr. Johnson is prepared to certify as Lysippic: the bearded head at Ny Carlsberg, the Seilenos with the Infant Dionysos, and the Meleager. To these he is willing to add the Florence Ganymede, on the authority of Amelung; and he pronounces as 'virtually certain, though not definitely demonstrable,' the Lysippic origin of the Seleukos bust, the Socrates, and the bronzes in Naples supported by rudders. The Medici Venus is another probable candidate; and so are the Demeter and Kore (the originals of the *Grande* and the *Petite Herculanaise*).

Mr. Johnson offers a convincing reason for the unsatisfactoriness of copies in identifying the works of Lysippos: namely, the difficulties that his style put in the way of the copyist—'when an artist utilises to the utmost the possibilities of one material, his work is not likely to be susceptible of satisfactory translation into another.' Moreover, the originals were in many cases quite unsuitable for copying: the colossal Zeus and Herakles at Tarentum, for instance, or the lion-hunt of Krateros, or the Granikos group.

Mr. Johnson's general observations on the Lysippic style are judicious and acute. He analyses well the influence of Skopas, and notes the contrast between the preference of Praxiteles for the unencumbered torso, with the arms close to the sides and emphasising the long vertical lines of the body, and Lysippos's liking for complicated cross-rhythms (e.g. of the arms, in the Medici Venus). This trait reflects his preoccupation with the problem of tridimensional design, which places him technically as the founder of the Hellenistic tradition.

This book is not easy reading: it is elaborate and closely reasoned, and the main lines of argument are apt to become engulfed in detail and obscured by the phalanxes of opposing authority which Mr. Johnson loves to marshal in battle-array. But it is an important piece of research and a useful bibliographical compendium. It is a pity that the quality of the illustrations is not worthy of the text they accompany.

Preliminary Report upon the Excavations carried out in the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1927 on behalf of the British Academy. By S. CASSON, D. TALBOT RICE, G. F. HUDSON and A. H. M. JONES. Pp. viii + 54, with 42 figures and 2 plans. London, for the British Academy: Humphrey Milford, 1928. 7s. 6d.

If the excavations conducted by Mr. Casson in the Hippodrome of Constantinople during 1927 produced no very startling results, they have undoubtedly contributed in a number

of useful ways to our knowledge of Roman and Byzantine antiquities. It is now practically certain, for instance, that the Hippodrome had no permanent *spina*; and we are thus in a position to correct the statements of Grosvenor, Thiers and Mamboury. Similarly, it appears that the old tradition of the Serpent Column having acted as a fountain is confirmed beyond a doubt, although it had been questioned by almost every writer since Pero Tafur.

In addition to his explorations in the circus and the Sphendone, Mr. Casson was able to investigate two important and little known cisterns, and the remains of a building which he identifies provisionally as the Octagon of the Baths of Zeuxippos destroyed in the Nika riots in 532.

Among the more interesting finds are a fragmentary Hellenistic relief of fine quality, representing a woman seated on a stool, which Mr. Casson compares with the sarcophagus of Hippolytus and Phaedra in the Cathedral at Agrigento; another relief-fragment with the figure of a Nereid surrounded by a rich decorative border; and a great deal of Byzantine pottery which Mr. Talbot Rice classifies on a system of his own.

Mr. Casson gives reproductions of several drawings and prints illustrating the condition of the site at various times since the Turkish conquest: some unpublished miniatures in the libraries of the Serai and the University of Stambul; the engraving of Panvinio made for *De Ludis Circensibus* (Venice, 1600) and copied by Banduri (*Imperium Orientale*, ii); the woodcut of Pieter Kock van Aalst; and the representation of the Hippodrome on the Column of Arcadius, as shown in the drawing by an unknown artist of 1574 now in the possession of Mr. Edwin Freshfield. This, it may be noted, supplements the illustrations of that monument mentioned by Geffroy in his article on a drawing from the Gaignières collection now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (*Mon. Piot*, II., 1895, Pls. 10-13).

Mr. Talbot Rice's classification of the Byzantine sherds is followed by Mr. Jones's notes on the coins and inscriptions (involving a correction of *CIG.* 8793), and Mr. Hudson's account of the Turkish antiquities unearthed by the expedition.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 7 = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Cabinet des Médailles) 1. By MADAME S. LAMBRINO (Marcelle Flot). Paris: Champion, n.d. [1928]. 17s. 6d.

The first Cabinet des Médailles fascicule contains the non-Attic early vases and about half the Attic black-figure. The small general views are supplemented by a good many views of details.

The bibliography has been compiled diligently. A few omissions. Miss Price's important classification of East Greek pottery is quoted on Fikellura (p. 3), but not on Camiran (p. 2). There is valuable matter on the Duemmler vases (Pl. 27) in Rumpf's *Wandmalereien in Teji*. The vase Pl. 27, 1 is figured in Heinemann, *Landschaftliche Elementen*, p. 43. The last edition of Buschor's *Vasenmalerei* is dated 1914, not 1923. Albizzati is the spelling.

Preservation.—If it is impossible to have the vases cleaned before photographing, it should be clearly stated which parts are modern. This has not been done consistently, or in sufficient detail. In Pl. 35, 5, even De Ridder, though he did not shrink from figuring the hideous Athena entire, noted that 'the face and the bust were very much restored': the Corpus says merely 'repaints near the neck of Athena (horizontal break)'. In the signed Amasis the whites are not said to be repainted. In the Arcesilas cup there is no mention of restoration.

Classification and terminology.—Mrs. Lambrino improves on De Ridder in several places; for instance, No. 174 (Pl. 33, 6), 180 (Pl. 45, 6), 182, and 186 (Pl. 18) are no longer called Ionian. But the 'Pontic' or 'Duemmler' group is placed under the awkward heading 'so-called Ionian fabrics' (Pl. 27) instead of in its right place, among the Etruscan. The term proto-Attic, if to be retained at all, should be confined to the pre-black-figure Attic vases of the seventh and late eighth centuries (though for these Phaleron is a better conventional term): Mrs. Lambrino uses it for the Attic black-figure vases of the earlier

part of the sixth century, including Tyrrhenian. 'Coupe à pied' is used both for an ordinary Laconian kylix (Pl. 22, 5) and for a standed plate (27, 4). 'Provenance' is used for 'lieu d'origine' (p. 6): this error is so frequent in French that I wonder if it be an error and not an idiom. In English it is a solecism, though a common one, to confuse 'provenience' and 'place of origin': the provenience of the François vase is Chiusi, the place of origin Athens. Pl. 5, 10, 11, and 13, late Corinthian. Pl. 11, Italo-Corinthian. Pl. 18, nothing 'Sicyonian' (proto-Corinthian) about it: if not Corinthian, an imitation of Corinthian.

Inscriptions.—One would like to see them interpreted as well as recorded. If an inscription is or may be incomplete, we should be told. The first letter of the first inscription in 203 (Pl. 24, 5) is kappa not theta.

The bow-case is called a shield in Pl. 25, 4, and a spare bow in Pl. 26, 2. I can hardly believe that there is an attempt at perspective in Pl. 41, 8, or at indicating curvature in Pl. 29, 5.

One of the most important vases here published is the Arcesilas cup, which still presents unsolved problems. Let us make a tiny contribution by clearing away some new errors and an old. New: the lizard is not on the awning, nor the crane on the beam: the attitude of the first workman (text to Pl. 21, 3) is described wrongly—he is not turning round; and I don't suppose that the two persons on the right are 'looking up at a scene of which certain details have disappeared'—they are looking towards the King. Old: Buschor (*F.R.* iii. p. 213), Pfuhl (p. 227), and Mrs. Lambrino follow De Ridder in stating that 'blue' (or 'green') is used on the Arcesilas cup: but what looks blue is only white on black. Finally, I give the restorations: modern, in the King, outline of forehead, nose, mouth, front tip of petasos; in Sophortos (the background just before the initial sigma is repainted, so Buschor's Isophortos is possible—as a name—though not necessary), outline of forehead and nose, crack through nose and lower eye and lower ear, crack through thumb and fingers; in the next, part of l. upper arm about elbow, part of r. arm and of the body below the chest; in the next, the whole upper part (except ear, back of head, part of hair, forearm), and most of the bag; the background before the first letter of ΠΜΟ . . . ; in the next, the end of the beard; a crack through Sliphomachos' thighs.

J. D. B.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia 3 = Villa Giulia 3. By G. Q. GIGLIOLI.
Milan and Rome: Bestetti and Tuminelli, n.d. [1928].

Mostly Attic black-figure—some of it very poor. A Chalcidian eye-cup; fragments of a Clazomenian dinos; Cassandra violating Ajax, the masterpiece of Asteas; and the Elephant dish. The possibility that the dinos was made in Italy is to be dismissed: and 'figures painted in red' is misleading, they are in black glaze which has fired red. The Asteas is called Lucanian: the group of vases which clusters round the signed works of Asteas and Python is so homogeneous and distinctive that we shall do well to keep calling it Paestan—as a conventional name—even if it is not certainly by Poseidonians. The Elephant dish belongs to the Pocolom class, as Zahn has pointed out: see Snijder's discussion of this and other ancient representations of elephants in *Bulletin van de Vereeniging tot Berordering der Kennis van de antieke Beschaving* II, i. p. 8 and ii. p. 4. Attic black-figure: Pl. 17, 1-2, the foot must be alien: Pl. 18, 4-5, by the Antimenes painter; Pls. 53-4, see *J.H.S.* xlvii, p. 90; Pl. 55, 3, hasn't something gone wrong with the bottom? Pl. 18, 3, this fragment of a panathenaic amphora is dated second half of the sixth century, too early: it will not be earlier than 480.

J. D. B.

Grundriss der antiken Zeitrechnung. By W. KUBITSCHKE. Pp. viii + 241.
Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928. 15 m.

To review a book so learned as this must in any case be difficult, if only because its author is perhaps the only person in the world who knows enough about all his subject-matter to

be able to say how far it has been properly treated. But Professor Kubitschek has provided worse difficulties for his critics than this. He is himself by no means without literary taste: he feels the charm of Ideler's writing, and goes out of his way to praise the lucidity of Geminus. But he has not taken those writers for his models. A reader who, by the time he has reached page 5, will have encountered a sentence eighteen lines long and containing five bracketed clauses, some of which seem to have escaped from the foot-notes, may be excused if he desists from reading, and takes to consulting the index for the topics on which he may desire instruction. The author may have produced, or at any rate have designed, a great work, but he cannot be said to have written a great book, hardly perhaps a book at all, unless a dictionary may be called one.

For Professor Kubitschek's style is not the worst stumbling-block in the critic's way. There is no clue to the chronological labyrinth into which he leads us; he is a leader indeed, but not a guide. What does he mean us to understand by a *Grundriss*? His fifth chapter, entitled '*Absicht dieses Grundrisses*,' might be expected to supply an answer. But we have read this interesting section through more than once without being able to perceive any particular connexion between the contents and the title. The principles on which the work has been arranged, and on which its proportion of space has been allotted to this or that subject, remain obscure. Sometimes the author's personality is much in evidence and we feel for a moment that, beside knowing what everyone else has thought, he knows what he thinks himself; at other times he seems to succumb to the weight of his learning and disappear from view beneath a heap of references. Certainly he need not have distressed himself with the reflection that Ideler's great work on chronology must become, or has already become, antiquated. One must have read Ideler to be able to read Kubitschek. Not that the later writer means to forgo the task, which the earlier so successfully accomplished, of making the reader understand, not only how men have reckoned time, but how they have been obliged to reckon it; what the astronomical facts are upon which chronology must be based, and how they have come gradually to be appreciated by mankind. He does tell us much about these things, but in isolated passages, in no order and with no connexion that one can detect. Take his treatment of the famous astronomical 'Era of Nabonassar.' The reason why the Alexandrians here employed the 'vague' Egyptian year of 365 days is, of course, clear: the object was to ascertain with the least trouble by how many days an earlier observation had preceded a later, and for this purpose a year consisting of a whole number of days with no fraction over was the most convenient, and the question about its accuracy had no importance whatever. Yet it is at this point that Professor Kubitschek chooses to complicate matters by inserting remarks about the true length of the year and the Sothiac period, which to an instructed reader are simply troublesome, while to anyone beginning his studies with this book they would be bewildering.

Quite early in the book Scaliger's Julian period is discussed without a word of explanation why nineteen years should be considered as a lunar and twenty-eight as a solar cycle. The history of the week is treated at great length, but the author is surely mistaken in refusing to admit any astronomical reason for its existence. Of course it is true that a period of seven days (or of eight days as with the Romans) does not constitute a quarter of the month, which is $29\frac{1}{2}$ days long. But it is also true that a farmer who, on his way home from market, should notice that the moon was in her first quarter, could infer with certainty that after an interval of six or seven days she would be full on the next market day; and such a certainty would have been important once.

It is rather surprising, though pleasantly so, to find that towards the end of the book some thirty pages, nearly one-seventh part of the whole, are devoted to an account of ancient clocks and dials. It is true that, without the aid of many more diagrams than are here given, much of this will be found very hard reading; but the copious references will enable the student of this interesting subject to know where to look for further explanation. And at the end are useful chronological tables. Crammed into the middle are the latest views, not only on such well-worn topics as the Julian calendar, the Seleucid era, the Canon of Kings, the reckoning of Easter, but discussions of forgotten eras from regions like Arabia, Dacia, and Mauretania, in which last connexion the origin of the word 'era' is exhaustively treated. Indeed there is hardly a chronological question to which the reader will not find one or more answers—generally more—if he will look at the index,

whether or not he will understand why that answer should be in that particular place where he finds it. A 'Thesaurus' the book undoubtedly is, but one would hesitate to describe it, in the warmer vernacular, as a treasure. Invaluable upon the shelf, it will probably be taken down only in times of need. But it is a stupendous example of learning and industry.

La Préhistoire Orientale. By JACQUES DE MORGAN (ouvrage posthume publié par LOUIS GERMAIN). Tome III. **L'Asie Antérieure.** Pp. vi + 458, with three plates and many illustrations. Paris: Geuthner, 1927.

This concludes the survey of prehistoric archaeology for the completion of which its brilliant and distinguished author made provision shortly before his death. It covers the regions with which his own later work was chiefly concerned. A short survey of palaeolithic finds in Syria and Mesopotamia leads to a discussion of the obsidian problem, with special reference to Armenian deposits, and implements, of that mineral: for there is much obsidian in the volcanic Alagheuz district, north-west of Ararat; some of the obsidian implements from the neighbourhood of the outcrops are of techniques which resemble Upper Palaeolithic, and even Mousterian workmanship; and some are patinated, and probably of great age. The chapters on the earlier and later cultures at Susa and kindred sites are a convenient summary of a great mass of material already published, which was much needed. An important observation is that the copper-using people here do not seem to have inherited from an earlier local culture of the Stone Age. In Babylonia this was to be expected, for the region itself was of recent formation; but the Persian highland is old country. The discussion of the influence of the Susian cultures is in general cautious, but the contrast sketched on pp. 109-110 between 'two great ceramic currents, northern or European, southern or Oriental and Mediterranean,' simplifies too much. To which 'current' does the painted pottery of Ukraine belong? The suggestion that the real source of the painted Susian styles is in Asia Minor is not developed (p. 113). Before going further in the Near East, there comes now a chapter (VI) on the Stone Age in the Far East, little more than note-book jottings, of which the upshot is that the Near East learned nothing from this side, though it may have contributed something very far back. Chapter VII, on the Aegean and peninsular Greece, is even slighter: the brachycephalic element in Europe 'came from Siberia,' and in Greece arrived by way of Thrace; whereas the type commonly called 'Mediterranean' came from Asia and brought metal-working 'as in Elam and Chaldaea.' To describe as 'énéolithique' a culture of which it can be said that 'seul manque le métal' is to push a good theory rather far. More wisely, on p. 159, the writer admits that Aegean cultures are out of his line.

Of much greater authority is the account of early metal working in the Nearer East, though it starts loaded with much familiar matter from the literary sources, and with a linguistic hypothesis which only serves to introduce notes on early names for metals, and speculations as to the 'homes' of the principal families of languages. The survey of the bronze exploitations north and south of the Caucasus brings the author back on to familiar ground; but the argument digresses into other early metal-using cultures between China and Western Europe; and the conclusion (p. 261) is that 'northern waves flowing from Siberia to the West' acquired the knowledge of copper in passing the Caucasus on the north, while Egypt and Western Asia acquired it on the south from the same source. The Far East borrowed from the same source but at a later date. The origin of tin-bronze is left in suspense. Iron-working is traced by similar arguments to a focus in the dolmen-building regions of Armenia and Caucasia. But the derivative character of the fibulae of this region, and other indications of intercourse with the Hallstatt culture of Central Europe, suggest that the Caucasian sites are not so old as is necessary for this reasoning. And on another side, the resemblances between Transcaucasian swords and those of the 'Sea-raiders' on Egyptian monuments opens a quite different prospect of correlation which is not developed here. There are some very loose statements here about European and even Aegean analogies. It is not enough to set the Hallstatt culture down as secondary, and its originators as 'seulement une grande vague humaine' which picked up iron-working *en*

route; still less to speak of the Aryans' 'marche lente vers l'Occident' in connexion with graves in Russian Armenia which can hardly be earlier than the twelfth century, and may be much later.

A final chapter on the origin of writing is in the main a résumé of standard works; but the distribution-map of schools of writing will be new to many. The Near Eastern group of scripts seems to the author fundamentally related, 'au debut, après la fin des cataclysmes pleistocènes,' and their origin was 'quelque part dans le nord d'Asie antérieure': local needs and materials did the rest; and the pot-paintings of Susa mark a phase of transition from pictography to hieroglyphic—which strains the meaning of 'pictography' somewhat.

An epilogue presents 'general conclusions' collected from all three volumes of this *Préhistoire Orientale*, and includes a sketch-map of Indo-European migrations (p. 389), which explains many passages in Volume III.

Autour de Platon. By A. DIÈS. 2 vols.; pp. xvi + 616. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1927.

This work is a collection of essays and reviews, all of which save three have already appeared in learned periodicals between 1904 and 1925. Vol. I deals with science, philosophy, and religion before Socrates and then with Socrates himself, while Vol. II is devoted to Plato. The reader will perhaps be tempted to hurry over the somewhat disconnected papers of the early part of the book in his eagerness to reach the very important section on Socrates. M. Diès' review of the Socratic question starts with the critical years 1910 and 1911, when M. Robin launched his powerful attack upon the historicity of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Professors Taylor and Burnet argued that the real Socrates was the Socrates of Plato, and various other writers dealt with one aspect or another of the same problem. In a few words M. Diès puts us in possession of the main arguments of all these works, and appraises their value with great acuteness and rare urbanity. *Varia Socratica* and the famous Introduction to the *Phaedo* are lucidly analysed, highly complimented and ultimately—at least as regards their fundamental theses—found wanting. Only in one instance does M. Diès wax really severe, the victim of his wrath being M. Dupréel, who in his *La Légende Socratique* argued that nearly everything in Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle was borrowed from the Sophists and grossly misinterpreted a passage of the *Hippias Major* in his efforts to prove it. M. Diès does not himself attempt to solve the Socratic question. For a long time hence, he thinks, all solutions must be provisional. It is as dangerous, he says, to place exclusive trust in Plato as in any other authority, for the dialogues of Plato are merely specimens of a whole class of Socratic literature. The works of Aeschines of Sphettos are supposed to have reproduced most faithfully the manner of Socrates, and he therefore attaches considerable importance to the fragments of Aeschines, collected by Dittmar. His main hope of progress towards a final solution is in the discovery of fresh fragments of Σωκρατικοὶ λόγοι. In a chapter entitled *Les Retours* he gives high praise to Mr. Ross for returning to the traditional view in his edition of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, and he shows much sympathy with the attempts of von Arnim and Gomperz to rehabilitate the credit of Xenophon.

Vol. II begins with a review of recent work on the chronology of the Platonic dialogues. M. Diès, following Ritter, shows us what extraordinarily discrepant views on this question were held by earlier critics. 'Enfin Lewis Campbell vint,' and with him stylometry. Thanks to this new art a fair measure of agreement as to the chronological succession of the dialogues has resulted, and the Budé edition is printing them in the probable order of their composition. After stylometry come discussions of work on the 'metaphysical' dialogues. M. Diès is always a sober and conservative critic. He strongly objects to Ritter's view that the Ideas are not to be taken as self-existing substances, but as concepts or symbolical expressions of formal principles, as unreal as the 'mythical' doctrines of pre-existence, reminiscence and immortality with which they are so intimately associated. Speaking of Prof. Stewart's interpretation of Platonism with the help of Pragmatism and Bergsonism,

he says, 'I regret this indiscreet intrusion of contemporary systems, which masks the objective sense of Platonism. . . . That which is valuable for modern logic in the Platonic theory of Ideas is its methodological rôle: therefore, says Mr. Stewart, the Ideas had for Plato only a methodological value. . . . That which renders intelligible for modern psychology the substantiality of the Platonic Ideas is the substantiality of the object of contemplation; therefore . . . Plato regarded the Ideas as substantial only as objects of contemplation.' This criticism seems thoroughly just.

In the last 200 pages of the book M. Diès gives a more or less systematic account of certain aspects of Plato's philosophy. The chapter entitled *La transposition platonicienne* is a valuable exposition of the way in which Plato has taken over, re-interpreted and fused with his own thought the rhetorical, moral, scientific, and religious teaching of his age. Thus the *Phaedrus*, says M. Diès, is intended to be a lesson in the higher rhetoric, or rhetoric as the handmaid of genuine philosophy. Its purpose is not primarily to set forth the deeper mysteries of Platonism, but to indicate how rhetoric may help us to do so. It is a 'show-piece,' a *παίδισ*, not to be taken too seriously, and that is why its treatment of love is on a lower plane than that of the *Symposium*. Then follow chapters on Plato's view of knowledge, his idea of God and his religion. M. Diès' aim throughout is to see Plato in proper perspective and to show how he has 'transposed' the ideas of his time. He refuses to be misled by modern doctrines and modern analogies. Salient points in these chapters are his insistence on the substantiality of the Ideas, and on the priority of the intelligible to the intellect, as in Plotinus and St. Thomas Aquinas, his view that the God of the *Republic* is not only source of Being but also sum and perfection of Being, and his carefully argued thesis that the Good, the *πρῶτον ὄν* of the *Sophist*, the *πρῶτον ὄν* of the *Timaeus*, and the Supreme God are all names for the same thing, perfect Divinity being nothing but perfect Being, while any failure in Being involves a corresponding failure in Divinity, this declension being illustrated, for example, by the inferior and partial gods of the *Timaeus*. M. Diès has given us a notable contribution to Platonic literature. It is refreshing for once to read a book by an eminent scholar with no particular axe of his own to grind.

J. H. S.

Dion de Pruse: Les œuvres d'avant l'exil. By A. LEMARCHAND. Pp. 180. Paris: J. de Gigord, 1926.

Mr. Lemarchand considers in detail a selection of Dion's works, made up of critical studies, *loges*, and addresses to cities—in all, more than a score. Various criteria help to date most of their contents to the First Period. The sophistic quality is sometimes clear; and a moralising tone, a touch of philosophising, or a show of sympathy for philosophers, will merely prove that Dion's evolution into a philosopher and preacher was already in its earlier stages during his sophistical period.

Four-fifths of the whole book are devoted to the city-speeches; and here, chiefly, von Arnim's theory of different redactions is used. A sophist was wont to repeat a speech in different places and under various forms: short-hand notes produced pirated texts; and the ultimate editor, lacking an authorised version, used and blended these. In the up-shot, sometimes a tail-horn redaction meets a headless one at a place where their ideas coincide, without interlocking by the way: but often enough the entanglement is found *passim*. Some duplicated city-speeches, Mr. Lemarchand holds, are mere exercises: their severity would not have been tolerated by their ostensible audience or, indeed, any other popular assembly. But others are more moderate, and of a general application that fits delivery in several places. A few belong to Period I on direct internal evidence: repetition of *elchis* from these brings others into it. *Or.* 40 (from after the exile) is used to point the contrast between Dion's first and last periods.

The book will be essential for workers on Dion, and other readers will gain from it. The reasoning is clear, the intricate material well marshalled. Notably good are the countering of von Arnim's views on *Or.* 28 and 29, the handling of *Or.* 11, and the solution of the crux about *Or.* 31's date: an admirable opening chapter on *Or.* 18 suggests that Dion and Dionysius of Halicarnassus both used a traditional list of authors.

M. T. S.

Βιτζέντζου Κορνάρου Ἑρωτόκριτος· Μικρὰ ἔκδοσις μετ' εἰσαγωγῆς καὶ λεξιλογίου. By STEPH. A. XANTHOUDIDIS. Pp. 412. Athens: βιβλιοπωλεῖον Ἰωάννου Ν. Σίδερη. 1928. 21 *dr.*

Dr. Xanthoudidis' monumental edition of the Cretan national romance—the *Erotokritos*—published at Candia in 1915, has now become a classic. He has followed this up by the issue of a small edition, intended to encourage the reading of the poem by a wider circle, in a text no longer disfigured by numerous corruptions. The edition is to be welcomed heartily, for the large edition, though indispensable to scholars, is too full and expensive for the average reader. The present edition contains all that is necessary for an intelligent appreciation of the poem. The Introduction gives a full analysis of the subject-matter, discusses the identity of the author, and briefly traces the sources upon which he drew. Besides the Greek text, excellently printed in clear type, there is a glossary of the rarer words and a conspectus of readings and interpretations which differ from those of the large edition. Eight of the illustrations in the British Museum MS. are reproduced.

It is much to be desired that this great poem should become better known to English readers. It is the fine flower of the most interesting literature of mediaeval Crete, the mirror of its age of chivalry under the Venetians, and should be as familiar to Greek scholars as the works of classical Greek literature. Despite its great length the poem is a noble work, depicting all that is best in romanticism. It is one of the latest products of an age of remarkable literary activity in Crete, and a study of it should induce students to penetrate more deeply into Cretan literature, which, particularly in the case of the drama and popular songs, will be found to possess works of a high merit.

F. H. M.

Epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den griechischen Volksbeschlüssen.
By RICHARD LAQUEUR. Pp. v + 211. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1927.
12 *m.*

It is a well-known fact that Greek *προβουλεύματα* might be, and sometimes were, amended by way of addition, excision and alteration when they came before the popular assembly for discussion and ratification. Such amendments are expressly recorded in a small, yet by no means insignificant, number of Attic *ψηφίσματα*, all of them earlier than about 270 B.C. Professor Laqueur is not the first scholar to draw the conclusion that, since the right of amendment must have been exercised elsewhere as well as at Athens and after as well as before 270, many a *προβούλευμα* must have been amended without having any explicit reference to that fact inserted in, or added to, the resultant decree: he is, however, the first who has systematically gone to work to discover the indications of such a process and to investigate the decrees where such indications can be discerned, *e.g.* the duplication of the formula *δεδοχθαι τῷ δήμῳ*, the addition of further clauses after the directions regarding publication, repetitions, faulty grammatical constructions, etc. The result is a careful, if occasionally somewhat over-subtle, analysis of a large number of decrees, including not a few of considerable historical importance, as well as of the 'Testament of Epicteta,' with a view to determine what was in each case the original proposal, what modifications were subsequently introduced and what motives prompted them. Frequently the author's reasoning is irresistible, and even where it fails to carry conviction we have good cause to be grateful to him for his suggestive treatment of familiar documents and for his challenge to a more attentive study of these valuable sources for ancient history.

Die frühkretischen Siegel: eine Untersuchung über das Werden des minoischen Stiles. By FRIEDRICH MATZ. Pp. xvi + 278; XXVI plates. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1928. 60 *m.*

We have here a careful and splendidly illustrated catalogue of the published Early Minoan seals together with an exhaustive and penetrating study of their forms and designs. But we have much more than this. Dr. Matz goes on to a detailed comparison of Minoan art

with Egyptian, Asiatic and Balkan combined with a penetrating analysis of each. The realism and naturalism of Crete, as contrasted with the conceptualism of the Orient, are finely brought out in the study of the figural motives of the seals, nearly all of which are shown to be derived from Hither Asia. But our author regards such variations of treatment as accidental: 'the relation between the ornament and the body ornamented is the determining criterion in defining a stylistic group.' 'For defining a people's individuality stylistic criteria are essential; they alone allow us to observe the inner connexion of phenomena.' The attitude of the artist to the body to be decorated reveals his psychical disposition.

A concrete and well-documented application of this principle to the art of Egypt and Hither Asia respectively, beginning with the button-seals and cylinders in each case but branching off into a discussion of predynastic stone vases, the Susa pottery, and the decoration of round surfaces in general, certainly reveals very striking divergences. One conclusion is that in the Egyptian button-seals the composition is truly Nilotic while the motives are almost all derived from Hither Asia, implying that these little monuments are the products of Egyptian craftsmen working to the orders of Asiatic masters. This inference from stylistic criteria accords well enough with current views of the First Intermediate Period in Egypt to be regarded as a certain confirmation of Matz' method.

Its application to the Cretan material results in a sharp contrast between Minoan art and Egyptian or Mesopotamian. To these civilisations Crete's relations were purely external: to the Danubian-Balkan cultures, on the other hand, her relations were inward and ethnic. And so we get a new statement of the favourite German thesis that Minoan civilisation has been inspired from the Balkans and Bohemia! The arguments, however, are novel, always penetrating and plausible but seldom altogether convincing.

For instance, we are grateful to have the cultural independence of western Anatolia effectively emphasised and are quite prepared to believe that its art is akin to the Danubian. But it is disconcerting to be told that the Early Helladic culture is 'western' in origin and in its 'ornamental syntax' sharply opposed to the west Anatolian, to which it seems to us laymen so obviously and closely allied by decorative motives, ceramic forms and even technique. We can hardly believe that the profound Egyptian relations of early Minoan Crete so brilliantly set forth by Evans can be reduced to a mere exchange of commodities or at most of ideas. We suspect that Matz may be right in denying that the 'double-sickle' pattern on Minoan seals is a mere degradation of the Nilotic opposed lions; but the mere statement of the tendency of Cretan art to naturalise geometric figures, though true, is no sufficient argument against the established view unless supported by a citation of the Susa seals that offer the geometric motive in a context so early that indirect derivation from Egypt seems excluded. The same peculiar Elamite group to which Contenau has recently drawn attention should have been mentioned also in connexion with the Balkan and Danubian stamps or *pintaderas*. These are instead left as an independent group used apparently by Thracians, who, we are left to infer, were the only people of the ancient world to paint their persons!

It was a true stroke of genius to recognise in the 'script-sign' on a B2 sherd from Rakhamani one of those pectiform ornaments that are so common in the middle Bronze Age of Hungary. Still it is quite impossible to equate that period, which must fall in the second millennium, with the second Thessalian. Our author is very probably right in regarding the art of the A wares of Thessaly as more nearly allied to that of the Balkans and West Anatolia than to the Anau-Susa group to which Hubert Schmidt and Menghin wish to attach it. But if that be so, it only goes to support my own view, that the Danubian, West Anatolian and Cretan cultures are all specialised branches of one wider unity whose home would lie in the eastern Mediterranean or North Africa rather than north of the Balkans.

But whatever the art-critics may say of his method and the prehistorians of his conclusions, Matz here offers us a most fascinating synthesis as well as an indispensable catalogue. It will amply repay the most detailed and protracted study by anyone who is interested in Minoan life in its relations to Egypt, Asia and Central Europe. Indeed it may be justly compared to Frankfort's able studies.

V. G. C.
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Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy. By A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE. Pp. xvi + 436. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927. 18s. net.

This book is of the first importance. Learned, scrupulously fair in argument and sane in its conclusions, it is a monument of common-sense and should be for the controversialist a pattern of good manners. Beginning with a detailed history of Dithyramb throughout its life of nearly a thousand years, it ends with an exhaustive essay on the work of Epicharmus. The main body of the book assembles and reviews the evidence for Tragedy before Aeschylus and Comedy before Aristophanes. Mr. Pickard-Cambridge winnows many modern theories in the hope, too often vain, of isolating solid grains of truth. With a serene austerity, yet with urbane respect, he quietly rejects hypotheses, however fascinating, which are based on insufficient evidence. Sometimes, perhaps, his scepticism borders on a kind of negative credulity. In the world of literary and religious 'origins' there may be room, as in the minds, alas! of most 'original' investigators, for the crude, the inconsistent, the fantastic. But a lucid statement of the evidence was sorely needed, and it would be difficult to over-estimate the service rendered by this courteous refutation of untenable conjecture and this grave appeal from vague hypothesis to sound grammatical tradition as our only reasonable basis for inquiry.

Mr. Pickard-Cambridge's main position is, in the opinion of the present writer, really impregnable. It is a pity that he weakens his defences by under-estimating and misunderstanding Aristotle's testimony, which, interpreted aright, strongly supports him. In the face of Aristotle's claim, *τί τις προοδίας μεταβίβει οὐ λεγέθαι*, Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, though he does not seriously question Wilamowitz's sound maxim—'What is given us by Aristotle as historic fact must pass for such until we prove his error'—is at pains to show that Aristotle neither knew nor thought he knew the facts. About the earliest developments he only theorised: he claimed to know 'about certain definite points'—regarding masks, prologues, increased number of actors, etc. Yet in Aristotle's phrase there is no hint of any such distinction, and in the context there is not one word about the tragic mask or tragic prologue. What the 'etcetera' may be we cannot say. What Aristotle says is this—that Tragedy began as an improvisation by the leaders of the Dithyramb, then, *πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβιβάσας*, found 'its natural form' and stopped. He gives a list of changes, which includes the increase in the number of the actors, and the one *μεταβολή* which Mr. Pickard-Cambridge finds it difficult to credit—*τὸ ἐκ σатурικού μεταβιβάσιν*—and ends with the emergence for the spoken word of 'nature's metre.' The whole paragraph hangs together even formally, with an artistic symmetry not often to be noticed in this crabbed writer. Here, treating of old poetry, he uses a poetic formula as old as Homer, and it emphasises what needs emphasis. The paragraph begins and ends with 'nature', at the centre stands the figure of the artist, Aeschylus. When, later on, he turns to Comedy, and says, 'The stages in the development of Tragedy are known, but . . . by what logic are we to distinguish the *μεταβολή* from the *μεταβίβει* and pick out this or that *μεταβολή* for censure as mere theory?' It is safer to assume that Aristotle thought he knew the facts.

What facts? Of course, if what he says is foolish or conflicts with what we know, we may suppose he was mistaken. 'Tragedy began as improvisation by the leaders of the Dithyramb.' Is that absurd? Does it conflict with evidence? Yes, certainly, if it is 'certain,' as we are informed by Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, that the phrase refers to Cyclic Dithyramb; that is, to a conventional and formal lyric in which every detail of the music, words and dance was carefully premeditated and rehearsed. If he traced the origin of Tragedy to 'improvisation' by the leaders of the non-improvisational type of Dithyramb, he was indeed illogical.

But if anything in scholarship can be called certain, it is certain that he meant the primitive, non-literary type. In his own time, he himself implies, the kind of Dithyramb he meant was obsolete, unlike the cyclic form, which still had half its life to run,—'Tragedy . . . by leaders of the Dithyramb, and Comedy . . . by leaders of the Phalloska, which still survive.' The simpler, autoschediastic type had once existed, but had long ago been killed. The Cyclic Dithyramb had killed it.

How then could Aristotle know it had existed? By conjecture, or on evidence?

He knew at any rate about Archilochus. He had read the famous couplet, 'I know how to lead the fair song of King Dionysus, the Dithyramb, when my wits are overwhelmed and kindled by the fiery wine.' Perhaps for him it was easier than it is for us, with our strange Puritan tradition and our climate, to appreciate such evidence? Talk about 'drunken Dithyramb' is too severe. There are some types of composition which depend for their effect on spontaneity, real or apparent. Were the dirges of the exarchontes at the court of Priam quite ingenuous and unprofessional? Anyhow, when a poet so distinguished as Archilochus consents to lead the local hymn to Dionysus, and pays customary tribute to the good convention that in this god's service vinous inspiration leads to unpremeditated raptures, grave perhaps as well as gay, it is ungracious to suppose the poet drunk, and to dismiss his *καλὸν μέλος* as 'a primitive revel-song.' If Archilochus sings as 'one of a band of revellers,' οἶδ'α from him implies a measure of poetic skill.

In many places, and with much variety of local custom, performances of this type—not mere Komoi, but something capable of a more serious development—must have existed and persisted in connexion with the cult of Dionysus long after the introduction by Arion at the Corinthian despot's court of the artificial type. Was there no local 'dithyramb' in Attica before the days of Lasos and Simonides? Aristotle implies that there was—its Attic name was 'Tragedy,' 'goat-singing,' since a goat was the humble sacrifice and a meal of goat-flesh was the worshipper's reward. The Attic villagers in the early days of Thespis had no such distinguished person as Archilochus to lead them, but they had their exarchontes, who at length provided something better than the unpremeditated strains which satisfied their fathers, interludes of speech—nay, more, a thing undreamt of even by Archilochus, but not perhaps surprising in an Attic village, where the Komos was a masquerade and no mere orgy—speech in which the leader took a character and dressed for it and spoke in it. Solon—we may believe at least so much of Plutarch's anecdotes—did not approve. But happily Peisistratus, when he inaugurated his new festival for Dionysus of Eleutherae, included not the new and artificial Dorian Cyclic Dithyramb alone, but also native Tragedy and in the competition against other villages and other exarchontes, Thespis of Ikaria won the prize.

That is the natural interpretation of the story told by Aristotle here. Elsewhere, we are informed, he said that Thespis first invented rhesis and prologue. Here he is more cautious: he speaks only of the exarchontes. About this stage in the development, we submit, he speaks as if with knowledge, and he postulates nothing absurd. On the contrary, his view is very like the view of Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, summarised on p. 219 of this book.

But, says Mr. Pickard-Cambridge, we are told elsewhere that Thespis acted his own plays. Who then invented the first actor? And why did not Aristotle tell us, if he knew? And, if ὑποκριτής means 'interpreter,' as Bywater believed, then surely the first actor was not Thespis but another, 'brought in as a spokesman by division of labour'?

'Brother and sister have I none,' said the old gentleman, pointing to a picture of his own young hopeful—'But that man's father was my father's son!' These riddles have a simple answer. Thespis was poet, Thespis exarchon, Thespis ὑποκριτής. Whether or not the word existed at that time, whether or not it meant 'interpreter' or 'answerer,' the function of interpretation normally—though not invariably in the higher and more complicated art-forms—was the function of the poet as exarchon. So it was in the days when Demodocus stood in the Phaeacian dancing-place, interpreting by word and gesture his 'fair song' about the loves of Ares and of Aphrodite, while the dancers beat the dance with their feet. Alkman sometimes was and sometimes was not his own interpreter. When the Spartan maidens sang his version of the story of Odysseus and Nausicaa, can we doubt that, as exarchon, Alkman played his part? How could he fail, when his chorus danced and sang that story, to 'interpret'? Archilochus led his own 'fair song,' and Thespis led the Attic goat-singing. The main tradition runs clear, down to the day when Sophocles interpreted Nausicaa so well, having not yet decided that, in view of his weak voice, he had better drop the old convention and retire from acting. Aristotle does not mention Thespis here by name; only by implication. When he speaks of a development out of 'improvisation by the exarchontes' he says all that is necessary, all indeed that is really certain, of that stage in the affair. What Aeschylus did was very much more important. He raised the number of the interpreters from one to two. It is just the same thing as if Aristotle had

said, 'Aeschylus took to himself a second actor.' Aeschylus, when he began, was, by tradition, his own actor—poet, exarchon and interpreter in one, like Thespis. Nothing is left out.

Finally, as concerns its greatness—μέγεθος implies scope and dignity, not merely length—the lateness of the time when Tragedy, discarding trivial plot and ludicrous diction, was invested with full majesty, must be ascribed to its emergence as the modification of a satyric type. When was that? Who gave Tragedy its μέγεθος, and by whom was it invested with full majesty—ἀπεσεμνόνθη? For once even Aristotle becomes eloquent, and why? He has no need to explain ὅψέ. His readers know the *Frogs*.

ἀποσεμννεῖται πρότον ἄπερ ἐκαστότε
ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαισιν ἐπετραπέτο . . .
καλλῶς εἰκὼς τοὺς ἡμιθέους τοῖς ῥήμασι μεζούσι χρῆσθαι.

He who built high the solemn phrase and dignified the tragic trumpery said modestly and truly—for he learnt his art as well as drew material from Homer—that his plays were slices τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δειπνων. His genius clothed high thoughts in noble speech, μεγάλων γνῶμῶν ἴσα ῥήματα. If Aristotle says that, in comparison with his, and those of Phrynichus, his comrade, the plots of the old playmakers were 'trivial,' their diction 'ludicrous,' and their style of composition, their ποίησις—in the broadest sense, their treatment of their themes—'satyric,' have we evidence to justify denial? We are not to think he means that Thespis and his men were dressed like goats or satyrs. Their ποίησις is in question. There is nothing in this context about costume. When Herodotus talked of 'tragic choruses' at Sicyon about Adrastus, we were ready with our explanation. He meant 'something more or less like' choral odes in Tragedy. What prevents us from permitting Aristotle to describe the style and method of the primitives as 'something more or less like' those of the satyric drama? Mr. Pickard-Cambridge hesitates a moment, then, 'because the metaphorical use cannot be shown to be so early,' votes with the majority, although it forces Aristotle to talk nonsense and to contradict himself. But the choice lies between stultifying Aristotle and supposing that he used a metaphor, used, after all, by decent later writers, though, so far as we can tell, by no contemporary. On the evidence, and nothing but the evidence, the 'balance of the probabilities' appears to lie with metaphor and Aristotle's reputation.

But, Mr. Pickard-Cambridge sighs, our Thespis seems to have composed a *Pentheus*. How could such a theme be 'ludicrous'? How indeed anything but 'tragic'? Such a question is a tribute to the influence of Aeschylus and Shakespeare. 'Ludicrous' does not always mean 'intentionally comic.' It is no reproach to Thespis to reply that, not in ancient Attica alone, but in our England, mediaeval peasant-poets, who were often peasant-priests as well, made strange work of more solemn, more impressive stories. What was English drama before Marlowe?

Of Mr. Pickard-Cambridge's attractive theory of comic origins and their connexion with the Komos, the present writer is not competent to speak. If, about tragic origins, he ventures, with great deference, to plead for Aristotle, it is not because he wishes to revive exploded heresies or question Mr. Pickard-Cambridge's own positive results. He agrees that evidence does not exist to justify us in deriving Tragedy from hero-worship, Dionysiac ritual-drama, Cyclic Dithyramb, or Satyr-play. He thinks—and has been fortified in that belief by Mr. Pickard-Cambridge—that the Tragedy of Aeschylus sprang from an Attic seed, some sort of dance and narrative-song performed by rustic worshippers of Dionysus, chorus and exarchon: that the seed was fostered by Peisistratus and reared on Attic soil by Attic poets, above all by Aeschylus himself, under the ennobling influences of the Ionic epic and the Dorian lyric. If that in the main is Mr. Pickard-Cambridge's opinion, once again the present writer cordially agrees. But so, he verily believes, did Aristotle. If the house which Mr. Pickard-Cambridge has so faithfully swept clean and garnished is to be kept safe from visitation by fresh devil-dances of conjecture, Aristotle, we suggest, would be a quite respectable and helpful caretaker.

J. T. S.

Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου. Τόμος Γ'. Μέρος δεύτερον. By GEORGIOS I. ZOLOTAS. Edited by his daughter, AEMILIA K. SAROT. Pp. xvi + 999. Athens: Sakellarios, 1928. 100 dr.

The second part of the third volume, really the fifth, which concludes this big history of Chios,¹ contains the history of the Greek and Latin Churches of the island during the Turkish period, together with a collection of documents regarding them, an account of the Chiote monasteries with catalogues of their libraries 'the catastrophe' of 1821-27, a summary of events from then to the liberation of Chios in 1912, and supplementary historical and genealogical notes. Of the liberation General Petros G. Karakassones, an eye-witness, has just published a special history with illustrations and maps (*Ἱστορία τῆς Ἀπελευθερώσεως τῆς Χίου κατὰ τὸ 1912*. Pp. 184. Athens: Lampropoulos, 1928. 40 dr.). The Turks, on the principle of *divide et impera*, fostered the usually facile quarrels between the Greek Metropolitans (whose office was revived after the Turkish conquest) and the Catholic bishops, with occasional periods of harmony as under Bishop Mansone, in whose time (1624) the French Capuchins arrived. It is interesting to note that two uncles of the millionaire benefactor, Syngros, were monks. Both Churches had their martyrs during the Turkish domination, beginning with the 'glorious death of the eighteen boys' in 1566 and ending with the murder of the Metropolitan, Plato, during the massacre of 1822, commemorated (p. 521 n. 1) by a fresco at Bath, still existing. In that connexion the long description of the monastery of Hagios Menâs (where 3000 refugees were then massacred) is specially interesting; it was probably founded about 1580, the neighbouring *ossario* in 1879. The book recalls the visits to it of Stochove in 1630 and of that famous student of the Eastern Church and translator of Bikelas, the Marquess of Bute, in 1866. Specially valuable are the oral accounts of the massacre, collected by Zolotas twenty-five years ago from then living eye-witnesses, which supplement those contained in Vol. I. of the *Chiote Archives*, while the diary of the Neapolitan Vice-Consul, Datodi, and the *Memoirs* of the Bishop of Myriophyton illustrate Fabvier's abortive expedition of 1827-28, which had worse results than even those of 1822. Subsequent events include the restoration of the *demogerontes* in 1832, the visit of the Sultan Abdul Mejid in 1850, and the earthquake of 1881. The Mavrogordatoi, we are told, derive the second half of their name from the Latin *Quadratus*. Mr. Psychares gives a vivacious account in demotic Greek of his family, one of whom dominated Chiote politics for many years and was even suggested by the Sultan as the prince of an autonomous principality of Chios on the analogy of Samos. Chios may be congratulated on having, by the completion of this book, the most detailed and comprehensive history of any Greek island, furnished with a full index.

W. M.

Die Archaische Nekropole von Trebenischte am Ochridasee. By DR. BOGDAN D. FILOW und K. SCHKORPIL. Pp. 110, figs. 119, Pl. 15. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1927.

The discovery of seven unrobbed graves containing a wealth of works of Greek art of the period 550-500 B.C. in the very heart of Central Macedonia must of necessity be a discovery of the very first importance. The graves were found shortly before the close of hostilities in 1918 and then partly examined: they were later fully and carefully excavated. Five of the graves had been opened before the arrival of Prof. Schkorpil and two more after. The contents of all alike have been here fully published and examined by Prof. Filow and Prof. Schkorpil.

No discovery has yet been made in Greek lands which equals this in the wealth of bronze work or in the very high artistic quality of the objects found. The authors are to be congratulated upon a meticulous publication of the contents of the graves, which amounts in all to no less than 156 separate objects.

The questions raised by a study of the objects are as important from the historical

¹ *J.H.S.* xliii. 70; xliiv. 116; xlv. 144; xlvii. 286.

point of view as from the artistic. The position of the graves alone, far inland on the shores of Lake Ochrida, presents a problem for which we have no parallel.

The authors have discussed the problems involved with the utmost caution and with the fullest commentary.

The graves are all of males, and of the 156 objects here recorded there are hardly six that can be called un-Hellenic, and nothing at all that can be identified as of specifically barbarian fabric. In the style and treatment of many of the objects, however, there is much that indicates influences other than those of the civilised mainland of Greece.

The objects are in gold, silver and bronze, and there is an insignificant group of pottery fragments and figures. That this absence of pottery is perhaps due to the carelessness of the original excavators of the first five graves is a suggestion that can be at once discounted by the fact that no pottery was found in the last two. We have to deal, in fact, with a remarkable group of burials of extremely wealthy folk, who substituted metal for clay in the usual *lekythoi*, *skyphoi* and *amphorae* of the ordinary Greek grave.

From the purely artistic point of view the volute-crater in Grave I, which is, in all essentials, in perfect condition, and which stands 68 centimetres in height, and the jug also from Grave I, with an anthropomorphic handle, can rank as two of the finest Greek bronzes in existence. The gold face-masks, breast-covers and the strange gold hand-cover (from Grave I) present, on the other hand, a problem which it is not easy to solve.

The bronze work is analysed by the authors into two main groups. The first exhibits bronze vessels or ornaments of pure Greek style and of the finest quality, such as the two works already mentioned, a superb mirror-handle in the shape of a male figure, a plate, a three-footed basin, a wine-dipper and some other objects. All are comparable in decoration and in shape to what has been found on Greek sites and in Greek graves in Greek territory.

For the second group the authors suggest the title 'Griechisch-barbarisch.' A large amphora 44 centimetres in height, eight three-footed bowls and five jugs, an incense-burner and some other vessels illustrate the stylistic difference to which they call attention. A silver horse and seven helmets illustrate the same differences in another way. In general this difference is one of inferior workmanship, careless or hasty decoration and inferior forms and shapes. The distinction is at once evident. But in particular there are in some cases forms of decoration which are specifically un-Hellenic, at any rate for the sixth century: thus on a fragment of a large shield, on the rim of a patera and in some few other cases there is a pronounced use of triangles, zig-zags and rectilinear ornament which might well be of the eighth or ninth century, but which are anachronisms on Greek vessels of the sixth. The authors rightly suggest the influence of Hallstatt ornament in the north Balkan region.

In the first group the authors see a division into two classes, of which one comes from Greece proper and the other compares closely with bronze vessels from Campania and South Italy.

Finally, there is a small class of objects—a mere handful of pins and small ornaments of that type—which cannot be called Greek at all. They are specifically North Balkan, 'Illyrian,' late-Hallstatt, or what you will. Almost all are in silver. Spiral-headed pins (which the authors say preserve the style of the late Bronze Age in these parts) and 'Omega-headed' hair-pins of a type found from Bosnia to Salonika leave us no reasonable doubt that the warriors of these graves did not scorn the humbler articles of local fabric. Again, seven of the eight helmets, of a type with a rectangular face opening, happen to be a type unusually common on the Dalmatian coast. They are, however, found also as far afield as Russia and Egypt and do not constitute a peculiarly North Balkan type, although they are rarely found in Greece itself. The authors call them an 'export type.'

The briefest study of the bronze work—of both classes—leads us to only one destination, and that is Corinth (to give to one place-name the stylistic peculiarities belonging to several in the same region). The details of the gold-work, the superb cattle-frieze of the Volute-crater and its gorgon-handles, the horse and the flying birds in gold leaf, the heraldic lions of the breast-plate, the macander and guilloche of the mask and the charming goat from the rim of a rather fragmentary crater are all as Corinthian as could be well imagined—Corinthian not from the particular point of view of bronze work, but from every point of view from which it is possible to study Corinthian art.

We are faced then with the all-important problem of derivation, now that we are certain of origin. Did this great accumulation of bronze vessels and gold ornament come through the medium of Greek towns of the Macedonian coast or of Greek merchants in the Adriatic? In any case the Ionian settlements of the Thracian coast are ruled out. Their commerce was not in such wares. It is rather a question of Apollonia and Epidamnos and such towns on the one hand, or Potidaea and the Thermaic or Epithracian settlements on the other. The authors cannot with the evidence at their disposal make a decision, but they favour the Adriatic chiefly because of the predominantly Corinthian character of the finds. Curiously enough they disregard the importance of Corinthian expansion in Chalcidice, which would have been able to send commerce more easily to Ochrida than by way of Dalmatia. They are perhaps unduly influenced by the group of vessels which indicates a connexion with South Italy, though both these and similar Campanian bronzes may equally have come direct from Corinth.

The group of vessels classified as 'griechisch-barbarisch' the authors attribute to a Greek colony, either Aegean or Adriatic and near enough to Ochrida to have forwarded the Corinthian and to have manufactured the other wares.

What stands out as of primary importance is that here we are in possession of a magnificent collection of Peloponnesian bronze work of the sixth century. Corinth itself has produced little or nothing of the kind thanks to the Roman antique-sellers who, as Strabo says, cleared the numerous Corinthian tombs they found and put on the market countless Corinthian bronzes: *ὥστε εὐπορήσαντες τῶν τοιούτων καὶ διατιθέμενοι πολλῶν νεκροφροντίων ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν Πώμην*. Ochrida has given us what Corinth cannot.

There remains the problem of who were the warriors who lay in such splendour in these tombs. The panoply of each is similar. Each has iron spears and an iron sword, helmet and pins for garments. The rest is luxury and ornament. Grave I is richer than the rest, but on the whole the warriors seem to be all of equal station and wealth. Also the seven must have been contemporaries, or by stretching the dates of the objects found to the utmost it is just possible to allow for two generations.

There are several possibilities: they could have been (1) local chieftains largely Hellenised, (2) Greek settlers who somehow had gone far inland, or (3) Greek mercenaries who died fighting for Macedonian chieftains. The authors with some hesitation decide for the last, partly because it most easily explains the bulk of the objects found and because it accords with the evidence of Thucydides.

But there are other considerations. Greek mercenaries could hardly have carried with them in their campaigns so enormous a weight of metal, and, if they died, it is hardly credible that those they served would have sent to Greek cities for the adornment of the tombs of their mercenaries. Nor did Greeks normally or in fact anywhere cover the faces and bodies of their dead with masks and trappings of gold.

I am impressed with the strongly Macedonian character of certain of the 'barbaric' elements to which the authors have called attention. The linear ornament on the vessels of the 'griechisch-barbarisch' class is the sort of ornament universally used on Macedonian ceramic of the late Bronze and early Iron Age. That Iron Age types of pottery and bronze work survived in Macedonia as late as the fourth century B.C. has been abundantly proved. The Hallstatt pins and the amber beads are features of tombs of the fifth century in Macedonia at places like Aivasil and Lembet, where precisely this 'griechisch-barbarisch' culture is seen. Iron swords of the peculiar Aegean type found in these Ochrida graves are, as the authors point out (p. 89), found at Zeitenlik near Salonika; these swords, incidentally, present us with a special problem of great importance. Macedonian warriors in coastal Macedonia were accoutred with a similar mixture of Hellenic and 'Illyrian.' But none with a fraction of the wealth of these warriors. Finally, the silver kantharoi (Nos. 32-34) reproduce exactly the shapes of Macedonian Iron Age kantharoi both in the proportion of the vessels and in their general outlines, particularly in the very open bowl, which is unlike the bowl of the usual Hellenic kantharos of the sixth century; while the handles of the three-footed bowl (No. 89) already classed as 'griechisch-barbarisch' is identical with the 'wish-bone' handle which is the essential mark of all Macedonian pottery from the earliest Bronze Age to the latest Iron Age. This particular handle has, moreover, a 'thumb-grip' which, while widespread in Danubian lands, is, in fact, common in the Macedonian Iron Age.

Neither the silver kantharoi nor the bowl are adequately dealt with in the catalogue.

But most important of all, I think, are the various accoutrements of gold leaf. The habit of placing small gold plaques on the mouths of the dead seems to have been a common practice in humble Macedonian tombs from the tenth to the fourth centuries. But nowhere in the Balkans has any tomb hitherto been found where such complete enrichment of the dead with gold was practised. Our only parallel for the custom is at Mycenae. But here the gold-work is quite certainly done by a Greek hand. Every element of design used is Corinthian, not Macedonian or Illyrian. We are driven to assume that Greek artists made these masks and breastplates and *appliquées* in a shape that was not Hellenic, just as Greek artists worked for Scythians. I can see no valid reason for supposing that Greek mercenaries were ever so buried.

From the rich burials of Thracian princes there are no parallels. The Ezerovo and Panagyurishte graves contained a half-Hellenic, half-barbaric treasure, but the barbaric objects were definitely Thracio-Scythian, and in any case there were no masks or gloves of gold.

Mycenae, being the only parallel of the Ochrida masks, suggests that the Balkan mainlanders of the Bronze Age followed this custom for royal burials. That Bronze Age survives into Iron Age and Iron Age to the fourth century in the North-west Balkans is certain, not from the slender evidence of these tombs but from the numerous instances from burials and settlements in the Vardar region, in Bosnia and at many sites along the Adriatic. It is a reasonable possibility that Bronze Age customs lasted also well into historic times, in view both of the conservative nature of Macedonians and Illyrians and of the isolation in which they lived. Mycenae and Ochrida may well be two phases of one culture.

That the graves are those of princes rather than mercenaries, and of princes like those of Lynkestis, who were rich enough to purchase the best that Greece had to sell, seems more likely than the suggestions of Professors Filow and Schkorpil. Greek artists manufactured the gold trappings and the bulk of the bronze vessels. Local workmen made the silver kantharoi, the swords and the small pins and rings. The bronzes classed as 'griechisch-barbarisch' could have been made in any Greek colony, though for myself I see no reason why they, too (except for those with Macedonian geometric ornamentation), could not have been made in Corinth: after all, the enormous mass of Attic black-figure pottery that is so badly painted as to seem utterly barbaric was made in Athens, and the sixth century saw in many parts of Greece a kind of 'mass-production' in some of the arts. The production of cheap and 'barbaric' works of art was often due, at any rate in vase painting, to the employment of barbarians in the workshops. The same may have been the case among the Corinthian bronze-workers.

The authors are to be congratulated upon a fine, scholarly and satisfying piece of work. It is to be regretted that the whole treasure cannot be seen, arranged in grave groups in the National Museum at Sofia. The principal bronze vessels alone are there publicly exhibited.

S. C.

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: France 8 = Louvre 5. By E. POTTIER.
Paris: Champion, 1928. 17s. 6d.

Cypriot; Attic b.f., including panathenaic amphorae early and late; Attic r.f.

Two general criticisms. First, it would be a convenience to the users of the *Corpus* if the principal fabrics were kept apart from each other. A good many typical Italiote vases are here classed as Attic.

Second, is it really impossible to have the vases cleaned before publication? This is an obvious question, but though I have been asking it for years I have never received an answer. Not everyone likes vases and vase-paintings that are half ancient and half modern; the modern side by side with the ancient, feebly and dismally cking it out; or superposed on the ancient, and concealing it or travestying it. Suppose that a schoolboy took a text of a Greek play, supplied the missing parts in doggerel, and altered the old wherever he chose, regardless of metre or sense; and suppose that an editor, professing to publish the text of the play, should publish the schoolboy's version instead? I hear the

answer—just what many editors of the classics do.’ But would the technical commission of the Budé Association be completely satisfied? And here, remember, the text which can be recovered, with a dash of the sponge, is not a copy of a copy of a copy, but the poet’s autograph.

Modern from ancient: one fabric from another. Then only can one turn to more subtle distinctions, school from school, artist from artist.

In his introduction to section III. 1 *c*, Mr. Pottier says that it is often difficult to distinguish Attic vases from Italiote. I think he exaggerates: the two fabrics are frequently confounded; but inexcusably, for there can seldom be any doubt. Mr. Pottier suspects that G 501 (III. 1 *d*, Pl. 35, 9, 10 and 12—not 8, 9 and 12), G 517 and G 515 may have been made in Italy. They are, in fact, Italiote, so are seven other vases which here rank as Attic. (*a*) G 489, G 498 and G 499 belong to an early Italiote group discussed by Tillyard and myself in his *Hope Vases*, pp. 9–10; two of the three are mentioned there. (*b*) G 495 and G 500 belong to the group of the Amykos hydria in the Cabinet des Médailles: the hydria is counted Attic by De Ridder, but is, of course, Italiote. (*c*) G 493 belongs to the group of the Sisyphos vase in Munich (F.R. Pl. 98): see my *Vases in Poland*, p. 72. (*d*) G 494 belongs to the group of the London Dolon vase (F.R. Pl. 110, 4). Other Italiote vases which pass for Attic in the Louvre are the pelikai G 544, G 542, G 552, the hydria G 554 and G 555, the oinochoe G 570, the squat lekythoi G 588 and G 599, the kantharos G 615.

The word Greco-Italiote, let fall in the introduction to III. 1 *c*, appears for the second time in the *Corpus* (see *J.H.S.*, 1928, p. 127), and will be a great comfort to two large classes of people, the lovers of compromise and the lovers of solecisms.

III. H *g*. That the manufacture of Panathenaic amphorae did not cease with the fourth century has been shown, I think, by Zahn and Eduard Schmidt. The Asteios vase is earlier than the archonship of Polyzeos. Pl. 2, 6, for .045 read .455.

III. 1 *c*. G 1 is published F.R. Pl. 111, not Pl. 3. G 30 (Pl. 27, 8): pointed amphorae are fat, this is thin: G 199 is not a happy parallel, since its mouth, neck and foot are modern. G 42 (Pl. 28, 6): the inscription *Demostrate* is not a feminine name, but vocative of a masculine, and to be taken with $\chi\chi\chi\epsilon\varsigma$: $\Delta\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, on the other hand, is not to be taken with $\chi\chi\chi\epsilon\varsigma$: and $\Lambda\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ is more likely Jahn’s $\Lambda\chi\omicron\tau\epsilon\mu\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ than $\Lambda\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$. G 46, G 60, G 61 (Pl. 31, 2: Pl. 31, 7; Pl. 31, 9), not ‘attributed’ by Hoppin. Pl. 29, 5, note that restorers cannot even get a palmette right. G 62 (Pl. 32, 2) assigned to its author, the painter of Munich 2303, in my *Att. Vas.* p. 108, No. 2. G 65 (Pl. 32, 8), by Smikros.

III. 1 *d*. G 478: a photograph of a vase-picture in which nothing is antique (Pl. 31, 3) is a bit of a luxury. G 480 (Pl. 31, 7): the dancer is not a warrior, but a girl. G 485 (Pl. 32, 1): a youth, not a woman, under the handle. G 486 (Pl. 32, 7): by the painter of Munich 2335: the restorations on B are not mentioned. G 491 (Pl. 34, 1), in the manner of Polygnotos, if not from his hand.

III. 1 *e*. G 503 (Pl. 1, 1): Attic right enough, by the Cadmus painter. G 528 (Pl. 6, 4) has been figured, with a study of the subject, by Wolters (*Zu gr. Agonen*, Pl. 1, 2). G 529 and 530 (Pls. 7–8): two other vases of the same rare shape have been found (*Investiya*, 16, Pl. 7: d’Hancarville, ii, Pls. 54–6). The two Louvre vases are published in some detail, with the heads of the chief figures in good large photographs. Unfortunately (though the text does not say so) the pictures, and especially the heads, have been faked up freely. This variety of restoration requires a few words:—a vase-picture, or part of it, is well preserved, but poorly or summarily executed: the restorer touches it up to make it look more important—adds pseudo-relief-lines in black: see Pl. 7, 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, and Pl. 8, 5. Another good example is C.I.A. Louvre, III. 1 *d*, Pl. 15, 5, where the photograph gives the restorer away. For a third, take the kotyle Louvre G 558 (Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 156): the restorations are called unimportant in the catalogue; but as a matter of fact they amount to modernisation.

J. D. B.

[The reviewer of the first Oxford facsimile of the *Corpus Vasorum* (*J.H.S.*, 1928, p. 110) states that “Mr. Beazley has not everywhere succeeded in preventing the photographers from routing out the background.” He is mistaken: the backgrounds are untouched.

The Oxford facsimile bears the imprint not of Mr. Humphrey Milford but of the Clarendon Press.]

La Parodia nella commedia greca antica. By F. GUGLIELMINO. Pp. 198. Catania: Studio Edit. Moderno, 1928.

A general study of parody in Greek comedy, which stresses the polemic purpose for which parody was used especially by Aristophanes. The subject is considered under the headings of literary (as in the frequent parodies of Euripides), mythological (e.g. the *Birds*), and philosophical (the *Clouds*).

Gregory of Nyssa: Encomium on Basil. Edited by J. A. STEIN. Pp. xevi + 166. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1928. 83.

A new text of this neglected patristic document is here given with a literal translation, full critical notes and elaborate introductions and commentary. The commentary is chiefly concerned with Gregory's language; the prefaces give an account of his life and work and treat at considerable length the syntax, vocabulary and style of this *Encomium on Basil*.

Eos. XXX. Edited by R. GĄNSZYŃC and TH. ZIELINSKI. Lwów, 1927.

This volume of the Polish Philological Society's papers for 1927 contains twenty-five longer articles in Latin or French, mostly on literary topics. Greek and Latin, besides short notes and reviews.

Psychology Ancient and Modern. By G. S. BRETT. Pp. ix + 164. London: Harrap, 1928. 5s.

In this new volume of the 'Debt to Greece and Rome' series the author recounts at some length the writing of Plato and Aristotle on the subjects now studied by the science of psychology, laying stress on the essentially scientific attitude of Aristotle. There is also a brief survey of psychology in the scientific thought of Hellenistic times, its decay under the Empire, its survival with the Arabs and subsequent revival from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century.

Selections from the Attic Orators. By E. E. GENNER. Pp. vi + 255. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928. 4s. 6d.

A plain text of seven important speeches of Attic orators other than Demosthenes, issued on behalf of the Board of the Faculty of Litterae Humaniores in the University of Oxford.

Arrianus. II. Scripta minora. Edited by A. G. ROOS. Pp. lii + 324, with 3 maps. 12 m.

Joannes Sardianus; Commentarium in Aphthonium. Edited by H. RABE. Pp. xxxvi + 306. 12 m.

Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina. III. Scholia in Nemeonicas et Isthmionicas: Epimetrum: Indices. Edited by A. B. DRACHMANN. Pp. xii + 402. 12 m.

Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1928.

Three new additions to Teubner's series of classical texts, edited with the usual critical notes and references. The first two have elaborate prefaces on the MSS., editions, etc., the Arrian has two clear sketch maps, and all three are provided with various useful indices.

Aristophane, III: Oiseaux; Lysistrata. By V. COULON and H. VAN DIELE. Pp. 322.

Euripide, II: Hippolyte, Andromache, Hécube. By L. MÉRIDIER. Pp. 392.

Hérodas: Mimes. Text by J. A. NAKES. Translated by L. LALOY. Pp. 183. Paris: Association Guillaume Budé, 1928.

Three important new volumes in the well-known Budé series of texts with French translation. The first two have brief introductions on the matter of each play. The *Herodas* presents a new text compiled from the Papyri and the latest editions and monographs, and has, besides brief notes on each mime, a good introduction on Herodas' position in Alexandrian poetry and on the history of the mime.

Callimaque; Hymne à Zeus. Edited by L. ROUSSEL. Pp. 60. Montpellier: Libre, 1928.

A text of the Hymn to Zeus is here presented, together with a prose translation, a full commentary and appendices on the versification and on Callimachus' methods of composition. From the mannerisms of Hellenistic poetry Professor Roussel deduces 'that an essential blemish of all Greek poetry is "qu'elle n'est écrite dans aucune langue maternelle."'

Suidae Lexicon I. Edited by A. ADLER. Pp. xxxii + 549. Leipzig: Teubner, 1928. 36 m.

A new Teubner series of the Greek lexicographers presenting the text with a good critical apparatus and Latin introductions on the MSS., editions and sources of the authors. This first volume covers the first three letters in the lexicon of Suidas.

A Bibliography of the Poetics of Aristotle. By L. COOPER and A. GUDMAN. Pp. xi + 193. Yale University Press, and London: Humphrey Miltord, 1928. 9s.

This bibliography is intended for the use of students rather than as 'a record having a strictly bibliographical interest.' The entries, many of which have brief descriptive notes, are arranged chronologically under the headings of text, translation and commentary, but the commentaries subsequent to the year 1860 are in two alphabetical lists, covering the periods 1860 to 1899 and 1900 to 1927.

I Lirici Ellenistici. Edited by BRUNO LAVAGNINI. Pp. 57. Turin: Paravia, 1928. 5.40 l.

A selection of the epigrams of Asclepiades, Callimachus, Meleager and Philodemus, edited with a literal translation into Latin and a brief introduction on the Hellenistic epigram.

A new Presentation of Greek Art and Thought. By F. P. B. OSMASTON. Pp. 9, with 59 plates. London: Simpkin Marshall, Ltd., 1928. 10s. 6d.

The late Mr. Osmaston's 'transcripts' of Greek choruses illuminated by the author with decorations drawn from the whole range of Greek art are undoubtedly a labour of love and the work of a profound admirer of Hellas. It is unfortunate that these photographic reproductions cannot show the colour, which must add much to the beauty of the book in the original.

Exploration Archéologique de Délos, X: Les Vases de l'Héraion. By C. DUGAS. Pp. 1-202; pls. 1-70. Paris: de Boccard, 1928.

The find at the Delian Heraeum is one of the most important finds of Greek vases that has been made within living memory. It contains many vases of rare kinds, a certain number of unique pieces, and many which, though not unique, or even rare, are valuable additions to our material. It includes a remarkable number of complete, or almost complete, pieces, and relatively few that are really fragmentary, a fact which suggests that what remains gives us a fair idea of the ceramic contents of the sanctuary. The heavy demands which the publication of such a find entails have been more than adequately met. There are really excellent photographic illustrations of almost every piece, accompanied by conscientious and detailed descriptions. In fact, the present volume is in every way worthy of the occasion, and Professor Dugas is warmly to be congratulated on having brought his task to so successful a conclusion.

The descriptions of the various local fabrics are preceded by short essays on each series, in which the author tends to avoid controversy on the difficult questions of chronology—a perfectly legitimate attitude in a work of this kind, though one always regrets a lost opportunity for an expert opinion. We are, however, given dates for the beginning and end of the whole series, and these we find it a little difficult to understand. The earliest vases are dated to the middle of the seventh century, the latest to the beginning of the red-figure period, that is, about 520 B.C. (p. 7). It is hard to avoid the impression that the series covers a much longer period. There are geometric vases (Pls. 7, 8, 9, etc.) which can scarcely be as late as this, and there is one, of the earliest Orientalising period, which is certainly a good deal earlier—the Protocorinthian aryballos No. 150, Pl. 21. Professor Dugas throws over the whole of Johansen's chronology for the Protocorinthian fabric in placing this vase at 650, and the late vase, Pl. 21, 151, in the sixth century. Johansen's chronology represents the only scientific attempt that has yet been made to date a series of seventh-century vases exactly, and we require argument before accepting a new system. Johansen showed that both the style of the Protocorinthian vases and the circumstances in which they are found point to a very much earlier date than maintained by Professor Dugas (and, incidentally, by many other authorities); and there is now further evidence available which proves that Johansen's conclusions were right. Not merely the almost globular vase No. 150, but also most of the ovoid vases illustrated on Pl. 21 are earlier than the middle of the seventh century. The painted vase Pl. 21, 151, is to be dated a little later.

The lower limit for the find cannot well be the earliest red-figure period, for at least two of the fragments, Pl. 54, Nos. 665, 6, are of late archaic style, and belong to c. 480 B.C. at the earliest. The same may well be true of the fragment Pl. 54, No. 659 (from a volute-crater, not from a column-crater), and of the relief Pl. 56, No. 680: several of the black-figure vases are no earlier than the end of the sixth century. The period of time covered by the find is from late in the eighth century to early in the fifth—not 130 years, but well over 200.

There are one or two suggestions on points of detail which I should like to make. The fragments 490-2 (Pl. 8) are not Corinthian, but Protocorinthian of middle style (a little before 650 B.C.); it is not certain that Herakles on the polychrome plate, No. 45 (Pls. 11, 57, 63), wields a club: the weapon is almost completely obliterated; No. 72 (Pl. 14) is not Rhodian but Cycladic—this is indicated by the technique (cf. *J.H.S.*, 1926, 211); Nos. 73, 4 (Pl. 15) are of a wholly different fabric from the other imitations of Protocorinthian on this plate: the technique recalls that of Melian vases; Nos. 351 and 478 (Pls. 26, 32) are not Corinthian, but probably Attic: they belong to a small group, made of peculiar clay and decorated in a rather unusual style (note also the strange shape of the latter); the black and white aryballoi, Pl. 43, 584, 6-8, are not Attic, but are probably Laconian: the technique accords well with this; so, too, the distribution, for they are found at Sparta, Bassae and Corynthus (Messenia) as well as further afield; Nos. 662, 3 (Pl. 55) are almost certainly Cretan.

A word of praise must be given to some of the water-colour drawings, those which are the work of M. Polykandriotis of the Mykonos Museum; these form an invaluable supplement to several of the photographic plates.

H. G. G. P.

Erster Vorläufiger Bericht über die dänisch-griechischen Ausgrabungen von Kalydon. By F. POULSEN and K. RHOMAIOS. Pp. 1-84; Pls. 1-90. Copenhagen: A. F. Høst, 1927. 15.50 kr.

The expedition to Kalydon goes back no further than the winter of 1925-6, yet the excavators have already produced an admirable summary of their results. This is not the occasion to discuss these discoveries at length: for that we naturally await the full report and the completion of the excavations. Suffice it, therefore, to draw attention to the remarkable character of the finds: an exceedingly important set of architectural terracottas dating from the late seventh and sixth centuries—among them several slabs with Corinthian inscriptions, proving that they were exported from Corinth, magnificent lion's head spouts and a sphinx head dating from the first quarter of the sixth century; fine fragments of painted metopes; the foundations of the temple of Artemis and other buildings; votive terracottas of Corinthian type; a Heroon of the second century A.D., with a remarkable set of marble sculptures, Roman copies for the most part of Hellenistic originals, among them a Meleager; a Hellenistic chamber tomb beneath the Heroon, unfortunately plundered, but an exceedingly interesting example of its kind, complete with a fine limestone door, sarcophagi carved as couches, and other funerary furniture.

These finds are all admirably illustrated, and briefly discussed, and they raise a number of new problems both for the archaic and for the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The authors are to be congratulated on producing so prompt and satisfactory an account of their discoveries.

Griechische Kleidung. By M. BIEBER. Pp. 1-100; Pls. 1-64. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1928. 50 m.

This is an excellent monograph which gives us a complete and very detailed survey of the different types of Greek dress. The preliminary chapter contains interesting observations on manufacture, and on general questions; the rest of the book is devoted to a commentary on the various forms. The plates are well selected and very finely reproduced. A striking feature is a series of poses from the life, which are intended to show the natural forms represented in ancient works. It must be admitted that these are sometimes curiously wide of the mark—witness, for example, the Niobid, Pl. 46: and if they are as near to the originals as possible, their tendency, at least in many cases, is to remind one how far Greek sculptors were at all periods from a genuinely realistic representation of clothing. But, it need hardly be said, these plates are not the less relevant for that reason, and they form an interesting feature of the book.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Etruskischen Skulpturen.

By A. RUMPF. Pp. 46, with 56 plates and 14 text illustrations. Berlin: H. Schoetz, 1928. 50 m.

The appearance of a first instalment of the new Berlin Catalogue of Sculpture is a matter of general interest. Berlin is fortunate in possessing a masterpiece among catalogues in Furtwangler's publication issued as far back as 1891, and comparison between the old and the new is inevitable. The old catalogue has the advantage of a *format* which will still be more handy in face of the sculptures, and is also to be commended in its inclusion of terracotta objects; it is absurd in dealing with Etruscan remains to include sepulchral chests in alabaster, travertine, limestone, and what not, and to exclude precisely similar objects in terracotta, the plastic medium most favoured of the Etruscans. On the other hand, the scholar away from Berlin will be grateful for the larger and more adequate illustrations of the new edition; and since Furtwangler's time the collection has been much improved, by acquisitions, notably the Malacena group, E 57-E 72, and also by the removal of false restorations (cf. E 33, E 34).

The Berlin collection of Etruscan sculpture is comprehensive and varied, including

interesting examples of the primitive period; a rich display of Chiusi reliefs of the archaic age; masterpieces of fifth-century work, and an ample illustration of the later stages of Etruscan art. These are now fully illustrated in a series of plates of admirable quality, and the accompanying letterpress is pleasantly concise, but invariably adequate. The introductions appended to the various sections are brief, but full of matter. In the arrangement there is, we think, one point open to dispute: several of the Chiusi reliefs of Professor Rumpf's early class, E 11-17, seem to be simply bad, not early, archaic work; everything on Pl. 11 might be placed well inside the fifth century, like the following class.

Karthago. By V. EHRENBURG. (Morgenland; heft 14.) Pp. 48; 5 pls. Leipzig: Hinrich, 1927. 2.50 m.

In this expanded lecture Professor Ehrenberg endeavours to sum up the significance of Carthage in world-history. According to his usual practice, he avoids conventional judgments and restates his problem in his own terms. He does not regard the Carthaginians as mere obstructors of the Greeks and Romans, or as representatives of 'Semitism v. Indo-Europeanism,' whatever that may mean. Unfortunately he cannot quite resist the temptation to over-simplify history by reducing the Carthaginians to a hard and fast type. He contrasts the 'oriental, other-worldly' Carthaginians with the 'occidental, this-worldly' Greeks or Romans. He partly justifies this classification by pointing to the intense religiousness of the Carthaginians; yet he has to admit that their other-worldliness was tempered by a genius for business and keen realism in politics. He also concedes—and this point is of special interest to Hellenists—that Carthage came under the influence of Greek culture, and by the third century had in effect become a Hellenistic State. Professor Ehrenberg therefore may leave his readers somewhat perplexed. Yet his little book is thoughtful and thought-compelling and has distinct value as an historical exercise.

Ἱστορία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημοσίας Οἰκονομίας. Vol. I. By A. M. ANDREADES. Pp. xvi + 563. Athens: Tzaka and Co., 1928.

The second edition of Professor Andreades' standard work on Greek finance is constructed on an altered plan, so as to avoid the defects of arrangement which characterised the previous issue (for a review of which see *J.H.S.*, 1919, p. 235). The section on Byzantine finance has been reserved for a later instalment, and the present book is confined to Homeric and Classical Greece. The space thus saved has been utilised for copious additional footnotes and a bibliography in which full account is taken of the most recent literature on the subject. The new edition retains the good qualities of the preceding one—a wide knowledge of the literature, ancient and modern, on Greek finance; firm but temperate criticism; a clear and enphatic style. The additional footnotes offer a valuable résumé of the research of the last fifteen or twenty years. A few of the more recent inscriptions appear to have eluded Professor Andreades' vigilance. He does not cite the list of donations to the Spartan war-fund in 428 B.C. (*I.G.* V. 1); the tariff of Cyparissia with its flat rate of 2 per cent. (Dittenberger, *Sylloge* 952); the statute setting up a money-changing monopoly at Olbia (*ibid.* 218), and the similar measure of c. 420 B.C. by which the Athenians closed the mints of their allies (*ibid.* 87; *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1925, p. 217). In the chapter on the Athenian treasury a reference to the well-known 'Callias decree' (Hicks and Hill, 49) is missing, and in the section on cleruchies no reference is made to the εἰσφορὰι which these had to pay (*I.G.* I. 40). Hippias and Themistocles are still accused of issuing debased money, though their honour has been vindicated by C. T. Seltman (*Athens*, pp. 77-8) and R. Weil (*Opella Numismatica*, presented to B. V. Head, p. 306). A little more discussion of the financial technique of Athens would have been desirable; on the other hand, some of the interesting but not strictly relevant digressions on general Greek politics hardly seem requisite. Finally, misprints of the names of Frankish scholars and of the titles of their works jostle each other as they did in the first edition. But all these are no more than minor points of criticism of a very learned and scholarly piece of work, which all those students of Greek finance who can read modern Greek will find it profitable to peruse.

Agonistic Features of Local Greek Festivals, chiefly from Inscriptional Evidence. Part I: Non-Attic, Mainland and Adjacent Islands, except Euboea. By IRENE C. RINGWOOD. Pp. 109. Poughkeepsie, 1927.

In this painstaking piece of research the reader will find all the available information concerning some 150 of the lesser Greek festivals. The evidence is highly scattered, and even when considered in bulk yields somewhat meagre results. But it brings out some interesting points, e.g. the relative paucity of festivals in Thessaly and N.W. Greece, their frequency in Boeotia, Arcadia and Laconia. It also throws light on the list of events at the various meetings, and on further analysis might offer some valuable conclusions as to the relative popularity of various rites and contests. Perhaps Miss Ringwood will undertake such an analysis when she has collected the evidence from other parts of the Greek world.

A few additional details on the Erotidea at Thespieae are furnished in *Suppl. Ep. Graecum*, III. 335-6. But this volume presumably did not appear in time to be consulted by the author.

Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum. By H. R. HALL. Pp. 58, with 60 plates. Paris and Brussels: Les Éditions G. Van Oest. £3 3s.

This is a collection of admirable collotype plates of Babylonian and Assyrian sculpture, with a short introduction and notes by the Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Department at the British Museum. The early pieces include a number of Sumerian stone vases carved in relief, the self-satisfied votive figure with folded hands from Lagash, the Mocatta bull-rhyton, and the statue of the governoress given by the N.A.C.F. in 1924; but the majority of the plates are naturally devoted to the relics from Nimrud and Kuyunjik.

Dr. Hall's introduction contains some good observations. He notes the Assyrian's lack of interest in the individual, and even in the racial type, coexisting with his keen sense of detail in dress and equipment; and contrasts it with the Egyptian's genius for physiognomy and his indifference where local colour is concerned. The Sumerians attempted real portraiture, especially in the age of Gudea, as did the Akkadians in the days of Naram-Sin; but the Assyrians aimed at general rather than particular truth in their representations of gods and kings alike, reserving for animals their great powers of observation and interpretation.

Dr. Hall avoids detail as much as possible; when, however, he does descend to it he is sometimes distressingly inaccurate. Hellenists will be surprised to learn that Amasis was the painter of the Busiris hydria.

Aischylos Schutzflehende, mit ausstürlicher Einleitung, Text, Kommentar, Exkursen und Sachregister. By Dr. J. VÜRTHELM. Pp. xii + 253. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1928. £1 5s.

This sumptuous though unbound volume is the first text to be printed in the new 'Hellenic' type. And students of typography and collectors of beautiful books will be more likely to pay the high purchase price than serious students of this difficult play. To readers of this *Journal* there is no need to describe the type. They will have formed their own opinion about its iota adscript, its diminutive zeta and the abolition of the final sigma except before stops, all of which the reviewer finds awkward and unpleasant, at any rate at first. But the general aspect is undoubtedly pleasing, the illustrations good, and the whole printing of the book—though it is not without misprints—is very beautiful.

The 'ausführliche Einleitung' comprises half the book = 127 pages. Only twenty of these are devoted to the Textüberlieferung, and this includes all we get by way of critical notes—a lamentable example of a modern tendency to shirk the difficulties of the text which should be a scholar's first care, and to indulge in page after page of pleasant and often interesting talk about anything that seems to have the slightest bearing on the matter in hand. There is much in the Introduction that is interesting, but to develop it at the expense of adequate commentary on the play itself is unreasonable. After less than sixty pages of very meagre notes, the editor resumes his favourite occupation and tells

us what he learned about ancient acting-editions from the scholia on Euripides. His learning and his extensive reading are evident on every page, and one can but wish that he had used them to the greater benefit of those who wish to read the play itself.

T. A. S.

Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects. By C. D. BUCK. Second edition. Pp. xviii + 348. London and America: Ginn & Co., 1928. £1 15s.

Students of the Greek dialects—if there are any left in this country—will welcome this new and enlarged edition of Professor Buck's book. It has been since 1909 the handiest and most reliable presentation in English of the most important grammatical facts as well as a useful collection of dialect inscriptions. One might study long the history of the Greek language and its grammar and yet be completely baffled by a piece of Thessalian or Laconian. Hence Professor Buck, in addition to providing material for study in Part II of the book, has preceded it by a grammatical and phonological account of the dialects. This together with a valuable glossary form a bridge by which the student may pass from his philological studies to the inscriptional evidence for the less known dialects. He will thus gain a wider appreciation of the copiousness and variety of Greek than a merely literary acquaintance with the dialects can give.

The author still prefers to use the term 'Achaean' to denote that group of dialects usually called Arcado-Cyprian. He remarks rightly enough that, however well the term Arcado-Cyprian may express the distribution in historic times, it cannot be right for prehistoric times. But of the early distribution of this group we can say little, except that it probably included the whole of the Peloponnese, not merely Arcadia. So the term Achaean, which has so many meanings already, can hardly be said to be really appropriate to any period. Moreover, if we are fortunate enough some day to discover inscriptions showing the West-Greek dialect of the classical Achaia on the Corinthian Gulf, what shall we call it but Achaean? Meanwhile in this book, as in Bechtel, the term is used to mean all that is pre-Dorian, non-Ionic and non-Aeolic.

Readers of Sappho will perhaps consult this book for an explanation of such forms as $\kappa\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\iota$ (for $\kappa\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\tau\epsilon$), $\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\sigma\iota$ ($\phi\eta\tau\acute{\iota}$), $\chi\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\epsilon$ ($\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota\epsilon$) and others. But the question (Buck, § 17 and p. 307) cannot yet be satisfactorily answered. Buck himself in 1915 (*Classical Philology*, x, 215-16) sought to disprove the theory of Wilamowitz that $\eta > \alpha$ in Lesbian, and certainly it was not a regular sound change. Still it does occur in inscriptions, and not merely in MSS. of Alcaeus and Sappho ($\chi\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota\iota$ = $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota\iota$, Buck, No. 21).

It is to be hoped that the publication of this new edition will lead classical scholars to pay more attention to the Greek dialects, even if we get no farther than learning how little we know of the conjugation of the 'verb to be' with its nine or ten present infinitives!

T. A. S.

Archäologische Mittheilungen aus Russischen Sammlungen, herausgegeben von B. PHARMAKOVSKY, G. RODENWALDT, O. WALDHATER, TH. WIEGAND, A. A. ZACHAROFF. Band I. **Die Antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage, Erster Theil.** By OSKAR WALDHATER. Pp. 84; xlviii plates and 17 illustrations in text. Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1928. 65 m.

This volume is the first of a series which is designed to make known to Western Europe the rich treasures of Russian public collections. The text, it is stated, will be in a Western European language; and accordingly that of the present volume is in German. It is intended to be the first of four volumes dealing with the sculptures of the Ermitage. The introduction gives a brief history of the collection, with a reference to recent rearrangements and removal of restorations; the rest of the text gives brief but adequate discussions of the sculptures represented in the Plates. The Plates are large and good photographs, usually full page, but sometimes, in the case of busts and smaller works, four on a page.

E. A. G.

Parthenonstudien. By CAMILLO PRASCHNIKER. Pp. xvi + 254; xxvii plates and 136 figures in text. Augsburg and Vienna: Filser, 1928. 40 m.

It might well be thought that, after all the study devoted to the sculptures of the Parthenon during the past century, there was not much new evidence to be gleaned by further investigation. But Dr. Praschniker's volume shows that any such impression is misleading. He has made a careful and exact study of all the metopes still extant on the north and east sides of the building, with the help of long ladders; and has published not only facsimiles of his detailed drawings, but also photographs and restorations based upon this new evidence. It has long been known that the metopes on the north, east and west sides of the building were in very bad preservation, especially as compared with those on the south; and this difference existed already in the time of Carrey and others who recorded the state of the temple before the explosion of 1687. But the destruction of the metopes has usually been ascribed either to the action of the weather or to casual target practice in Turkish times. Dr. Praschniker's study has shown that the figures were deliberately cut away with a knife or other sharp instrument. And he rightly infers that such systematic defacement must probably have taken place at the time when the Parthenon was converted into a Christian church, and when, in all probability, the central figures of the eastern pediment were also destroyed. The southern metopes were apparently spared either because they were on the least conspicuous side of the temple, or because the work of destruction was never completed. It is hard to explain how N. XXXII, the westernmost of the northern series, also came to be spared. It is evident that these facts offer a valuable criterion for assigning the surviving fragments to the north or the south side.

Dr. Praschniker's drawings, together with the photographs and restorations, make it possible to obtain a much clearer notion than hitherto of the subjects and treatment of the metopes. As to the north side, the theory that there were some centaur metopes in the middle never rested on satisfactory evidence, and Dr. Praschniker rejects it altogether: metope A, which has been quoted as evidence, may just as well represent a man restraining a prancing horse. It is therefore possible to extend the scenes from the Iliupersis, of which an episode is easily recognisable in metopes XXIV-XXV, over the whole of the north side, with the exception of the three western metopes, which seem to form a separate group. Then the Iliupersis scenes, with the device of the rising sun in I and the setting moon in XXIX, make a connected series, into which the other extant metopes fit satisfactorily. But, of course, with only such a small proportion preserved, there must necessarily be much that is conjectural.

The eastern metopes, being all still *in situ*, do not offer so free a field for conjecture, though their surface has also been cut away. Dr. Praschniker has, however, added many details to what was previously known, such as the identification of Heracles and Eros in E. XI, and has placed the whole system of identification of the gods upon a firmer basis.

More general considerations of subject and style will interest an even wider circle. Dr. Praschniker recognises in the whole design and distribution of the metopes the impress of one master, though the actual execution shows several distinct hands. This is, of course, well known in the case of the south metopes; but what is left of the east and north metopes points to the same conclusion, the work varying from a stiffness and convention that recall the Tyrannicides to an idealised naturalism such as we can see in the pediments and frieze. In spite of some recent theories, the tendency seems to be more and more to restore to Pheidias the main conception of the sculptures of the Parthenon.

Dr. Praschniker promises further studies of the west and south metopes. These will be awaited with great interest.

E. A. G.

Plutarch und die griechische Biographie. By WOLDEMAR GRAF UNKUL, GYLLENBAND. Pp. iii + 120. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1927. 7.20 m.

Of all investigations into the sources of Plutarch's Lives the most important is Eduard Meyer's treatment of the Life of Cimon (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*, II, 1-71), valuable above all for its methods. The book before us, which bears the sub-title 'Studien zu

Plutarchischen Leben-beschreibungen des V. Jahrhunderts' bases itself on that essay—in fact, almost requires a knowledge of it—but the author, dissatisfied with the details of its results, attempts to modify them, while dealing more fully than Meyer with *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, which were obviously in part composed from the same sources as *Cimon*. He supposes Plutarch to have based all three lives on Hellenistic biographies which he augmented and diversified, in the main by extracts from three sources, a periegetic work founded on Heliodorus and arranged according to persons or families, some collection of 'Comodumenoï,' and collections of anecdotes. The Hellenistic biography of Cimon he believes to have derived its framework from the tenth book of Theopompus' *Philippica*, which had the sub-title *περὶ δημοσίων ἡρώων*. Theopompus will there have given a short sketch of Cimon's political career as a contrast to the policies of the demagogues who followed him. In this there would be no place for the battle of the Eurymedon nor for the fiasco at Ithome. These were added, the one from Ctesias' *Persica* (indirectly—perhaps through Dion), the other from the Attidograph tradition as collected by Philochorus. The probability of this construction depends at many points on cumulative evidence, and the reader should not allow himself to be prejudiced by the fact that the author sometimes claims more weight for a particular argument than it possesses of itself. The distinction of the component parts of the biographies is well done, and the sources to which they are assigned at least not improbable. Doubt may be aroused by the confidence with which the author separates the work of Plutarch from that of his 'Hellenistic model': at times he attempts to find evidence for the contents of this in Nepos: as far as *Cimon* and *Aristides* are concerned the divergences are so much more important than the coincidences that the biographies of Plutarch and Nepos cannot be closely enough related for this procedure to be justifiable.

Of interest are the incidental discussion of the authenticity of the second and third epigrams in Aeschines, in *Ctes.* 183, declared to be spurious (Richter's argument based on the name Μενοσθένες might have been allowed to sink into oblivion), and the reconstruction of the battle of the Eurymedon; the hundred ships captured with their crews (Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* 72 and his presumable authority, the epigram A. P. VII. 296, the reference of which to this battle is defended against Meyer) are identified with the expected reinforcements from Cyprus; the author may be willing to reject, but silently passes over, the evidence of Plutarch that these were eighty in number and sunk along with most of their crews. A final section gives an interesting sketch of the history of Greek biography, closed by an estimate of Plutarch as a biographer, which, though rather unsympathetic is, like most of this book, full of matter for thought.

Der Weg in die Philosophie. By GEORG MISCHE. Pp. vii + 418. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1926. 16 m.

Regarding philosophy not as knowledge but as inquiry, the author of this 'philosophical primer' sees the proper approach to it not in the study of a system but in an acquaintance with the thought of the past. The danger of this method is that the student will be presented either with a glittering confusion or with a whole series of systems. The author seeks to avoid this danger by choosing his extracts to show certain lines of development from the universal beginnings of philosophy, a primitive metaphysic of unity, and thus to effect a reconciliation between the systematic and historical methods. This volume, to be followed by another, gives a liberal selection of translations from Indian and Chinese thought and from that of the Pre-Socratics, who are regarded as providing a parallel to the whole course of Eastern philosophy.

Others Abide. By HUMBERT WOLFE. Pp. 119. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1927.

It was inevitable that Mr. Wolfe should try his hand at the Anthology; it was equally certain that in matching himself with the ancients he should find himself more at ease among the Alexandrians and the Byzantines than in the company of the austere Simonides. For Mr. Wolfe is above all things a virtuoso; his talent is always at concert-pitch. He finds it too hard to relax and be merely grand; he must be brilliant as well. Sometimes his

brilliance is gratuitous: he has been bold enough to give us yet another version of the Thermopylae couplet, and this is what he makes of it:—

‘Tell Sparta, friend, that here we lie as token
That we were Spartans. Leave the rest unspoken.’

How ingenious, and how unnecessary: the clever rhyme makes the sentiment Hellenistic, and we quite miss the bleak perfection of taste, the arrow-like simplicity of the original. On his own plane, however, he is admirable. His translations of Meleager are particularly successful: he has caught the ardour as well as the elegance, the sincerity as well as the ease. Here is an example:—

‘Zenophila, the goblet at your lip
boasts—happy cup—of that sweet fellowship.
O were the cup my mouth, you might have quaffed
my soul, beloved, at a single draught.’

And another, still more dexterous:—

‘What though each word’s a sigh, each sigh’s a word
accusing love’s contempts, love has not heard,
or, hearing, laughs the more the more you chide him,
Yes, and he thrives on compliments denied him,
Which sets me wondering, Cypris, how you came
to make the sea you sprang from bear a flame.’

‘*Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Ἀθηνῶν*. By CHRYSOSTOMOS PAPADOPOULOS, Archbishop of Athens and All Greece. Pp. 116. Athens: 1928.

No one could have written more authoritatively about the Church of Athens than the present Archbishop, a learned divine, an ex-professor and author of a large volume on the *History of the Church of Greece*. His latest work, considerably enlarged, especially in the modern period, from his article published in 1927 in the *Great Greek Encyclopedia*, traces the history of the Church (and churches) of Athens from St. Paul to his own archiepiscopate. Originally a bishopric under the Metropolitan see of Corinth, Athens became an Archbishopric directly dependent on the Patriarchate in the eighth century, when an inscription on a column of the Parthenon mentions Germanos as Archbishop. Created a Metropolitan see a little later, it reverted to the rank of a bishopric in 1833, but the bishop was promoted to be a Metropolitan again in 1850, and received in 1923 the title of ‘Archbishop of Athens and All Greece,’ as befitted the head of an autocephalous Church. Meanwhile, in the course of ages the Athenian Cathedral had been successively the Parthenon, the military bakery (on the Church of St. Dionysios), St. Panteleemon, St. Eirene and the present building, while the episcopal palace was first near the Areiopagos, then on the site of the present Cathedral, and now adjoining it on the site of what was the nunnery founded by St. Philothée about 1550. Notable among the holders of the Athenian see were the martyr Leonidas, the remains of whose basilica M. Soteriou excavated in 1917–18; Neophytos, connected with the direction of the Church from 1824 to 1861; his successor Misael, who had taught Otho Greek; Meletios, successively Metropolitan of Athens, Oecumenical Patriarch and now Patriarch of Alexandria; and above all Michael Akominatos, the last occupant before the Frankish conquest banished the Orthodox Metropolitans for 190 years. The book also contains brief sketches of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, with notes about the Monasteries, notably that of Petrake, in which the late Metropolitan still lives, of the teachers, among them the subsequent Archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore of Tarsus, and of the *Anathema* of 1785 (the precedent for that on M. Venizelos). On p. 43 the date of the road made by Neophytos should be 1238.

W. M.

The Director of the Press Department of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mr. KALOPOTHAKES, has issued in English and German **A Short History of the Greek Press** (Athens, 1928), based on extensive research. The first Greek journal was the *Ephemeris* of Vienna, started on 31 Dec. 1790 (O.S.), of whose first number only one copy (preserved at Bucharest) was believed to exist until a complete set of its first year was recently found in the library of the Iviron Monastery on Mt. Athos. The first Greek journal issued in Greece (except in the Ionian Islands) was the *Salpinx Helleniki* of Kalamata in 1821, of which there are only three numbers: the first of the immense progeny of Athenian newspapers was the *Ephemeris Athenian*, born at Salamis in 1824. More famous were the *Helleniká Chroniká* and *Telegraphon* of Mesolonghi; in the Finlay Library of the British School is a very rare copy of the former containing in Finlay's handwriting the pro-Hungarian article for which No. 19 was stopped by Byron. The first daily was the *Ephemeris toú Koromela*, published in 1873; Athens has now 17. Two Greek journals, now defunct, had long lives—the *Amáltheia* of Smyrna and the *Néa Héméra* of Trieste, born respectively in 1838 and 1855, and both transferred to Athens, where they died in 1923 and 1928. Occasionally Greek newspapers are resurrected, like the *Patris* of Bucharest and Athens. The oldest Athenian journal is now *Le Messager d'Athènes*, founded in 1875, and famous for the brilliant leaders of its directress and for the articles on modern Greek history, *La petite histoire*, by M. Vellianites. Unhappily, the unique satirical weekly, *Romeós*, written entirely in verse (including the advertisements) by that modern Aristophanes, Sourès, and read by every Greek from Trebizond to London, has ceased to exist since 1915, and has left no successor.

W. M.

A Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum. Sixth edition. By H. B. WALTERS. Pp. vii + 205; 18 plates, 100 illustrations. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1928. 2s.

Notes on St. Luke and the Acts. By A. PALLIS. Pp. 83. Oxford University Press, 1928. 3s.

Gaisford Prize for Greek Verse, 1928. By D. L. PAGE. Pp. 11. Oxford: Blackwell, 1928. 2s.

The Argonautica of Apollonius, Book III. Edited by M. M. GILLIES. Pp. xlviii + 160. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 15s.

The introduction to this edition of the third book of the *Argonautica* provides a satisfactory survey of Alexandrine literature judged on its own merits, not merely in its relation to classic Greek and Latin literature: together with a summary of the poem as a whole and a consideration of its position among the writings of its day. The running commentary deals chiefly with the relation of Apollonius' language to that of Homer and of his own contemporaries.

De sermone Hyperidis. By D. GROMSKA. Pp. 100. Leopoli: Gubrynowicz et filius, 1927.

An elaborate examination of the non-literary forms and usages of words in Hyperides, and the connection of his vocabulary with colloquial language of his day and with the *ζωή*.

Platon: Eidos, Paideia, Dialogos. By P. FRIEDLANDER. Pp. viii + 278. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1928. 12.50 *m*.

Seven loosely connected essays on aspects of Plato's work—his religious attitude, his relation to the life of his time (including a chapter on *Sokrates bei Platon*), certain of his methods of expression. There are also two appendices—Platon als Geograph and Platon als Stadtebauer.

Sprache und Mythos. By E. CASSIRER. Pp. 87. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925.

A long and detailed essay on the problem of the names of gods, dealing with the mythical origin and actual religious significance of such names.

Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte. Edited by D. HANS HASS. 7. Lieferung: Religion des agaischen Kreises. (GEORG KARO. 13, 14. Lieferung: Die Religion der Griechen. By A. RUMPF. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1925 and 1928. Price of each, 5.50 *m*.)

The scope of this series is very wide, including both civilised and savage religions. The two parts reviewed here are excellent in both plan and execution. The introductions, as might be expected from their authors, are well-informed, sober, and compact, containing a remarkable amount of reliable and up-to-date information for their size: Rumpf might perhaps have done better to include a short bibliography, as Karo does. The illustrations, while not large (indeed it would hardly have been possible to give large ones without making the work far too bulky and expensive) are for the most part clearly and well reproduced, and are exceedingly well-chosen. They naturally include much that is familiar, but also not a few monuments which are neither widely known nor easy to find elsewhere. The result is that we now have available at a moderate price as good a selection of illustrations to a course of lectures on Greek religion from the earliest times on, or of helps to private study and research, as could be reasonably desired. The whole series ought to be in our public libraries, and the relevant parts in private ones.

H. J. R.

Platon der Erzieher. By JULIUS STENZEL (Vol. XII of *Die grossen Erzieher, ihre Persönlichkeit und ihre Systeme*, edited by RUDOLF LEHMANN). Pp. vi + 337. Leipzig: F. Meiner, 1928.

The general plan of this book is to illustrate, not merely the salient points of Plato's own system, in so far as that is in any way pedagogic, but also the features of early thought, poetical and philosophical, which are represented, or find their fullness, in him; 'da in Platon das gesamte Griechentum zum ersten Male eine Zusammenfassung erfährt' (p. 10). It is, therefore, quite reasonable that it starts with Homer and continues through the earlier philosophers, the sophists and Sokrates, to a consideration of Plato's own works, in which especial attention is paid to the *Republic*, much use made of the *Symposium*, *Menon* and *Phaedrus*, ending with a discussion of the Seventh Epistle. The rise and fall of the older education, with its ideas of *εὐσέβεια*, *γνώμη* and so forth; the individualism of the sophistic teaching and its correction by Sokrates, whose 'dialectic' and its accompanying disclaimer of any personal wisdom the author views as essentially directed to the remedying of this individualism; all these are ingeniously set forth, as the result largely of Stenzel's own detailed studies. The analysis of the works of Plato which the author chooses to discuss has also many points of interest.

The merits of this book are the writer's good first-hand knowledge of his material and his consistent attempt to show the reality and value of Platonism by comparisons with modern terminology and modern problems and points of view. As weaknesses may be noted a certain heaviness and obscurity of style, which make the book less interesting to read than it should be; a certain fancifulness here and there, and occasionally a lack of critical

accuracy on historical points: *e.g.* in speaking of the relation of early philosophers to astronomy, in which (p. 30) he declares them all to have been interested, he hardly allows enough for the tendency of the late sources on which we must generally draw to credit earlier ages with the craze for astrology which prevailed in their own day. Also (p. 58), the old scandal about Xanthippe's temper might be left alone, as being at least unproven. One notable omission is that no use seems to have been made of either Burnet or A. E. Taylor.

H. J. R.

Platon der Gründer. By KURT SINGER. Pp. 265. Munich: Beck, 1927. 12.50 m.

Herr Singer has fully grasped the fact that Plato was a great poet; and from this he seems to draw the unjustified conclusion that in order to interpret him, it is necessary to write in a kind of dithyrambic prose, of a sort which was popular in Germany at various times in the last century and is represented in English by Carlyle in some of his moods. His book is filled with masses of adjectives, *ἐπίμαζον ἀπολύφον*, the cloudier sort of philosophic technicalities, and declamations concerning everything and everyone. When all this is swept aside, and allowance made for the resulting inexactitudes, for much talk about the 'Apolline' and 'Dionysiac' realms, and for many fanciful deductions, there is but little in the work that is not already well known to any serious student of Plato. The first section deals with Sokrates and the Sokratic dialogues principally (the author's notions of Platonic chronology are rather vague, and he never once mentions the two authors who have handled the matter scientifically, Lewis Campbell and Lutoslawski). The second treats at some length of the *Republic*. The third passes from Plato's theory of the State to his attempts as a practical statesman, but also discusses the later dialogues: whether it shows a right sense of proportion to devote but half-a-dozen pages to the *Parmenides* and eight to the *Laws*, is another matter.

The real question is, whether anyone's comprehension of Plato, or of Greek thought, is likely to be forwarded by such purple patches as the following (dealing with the *Phaedo*, p. 51): 'Der Feier und Weihe der mythischen Zeugung, des heroischen Eros antwortet die Feier und Weihe des mythischen Todes, beides Mysterien des griechischen Leibes, durch die Tat des Sokrates aus dem stoffgebunden Zeiten hinübergerettet in das Zeitalter des Geistes, durch die Tat des Platon Gestalt geworden und verwandelt.' Or again, p. 70: 'Es (the *Republic*) ist neben dem Symposion der einzige Dialog Platons, der zu Nachtzeit stattfindet, der die Geburt gehört, aber auch das Gericht.' Or, is much light thrown on Plato's relations to Lysias by emphasising, more than once, the fact that the latter takes no part in the discussion at his father's house? What possible part is there in the *Republic* for an orator to fill?

Such playing with words and untimely bursts of rhetoric are the more to be regretted, as Herr Singer is not without flashes of insight, has read widely, and has a very fair (though by no means complete) acquaintance with modern Platonic literature, and also, an important thing in a Platonist, some knowledge of mathematics. It is to be hoped that he will learn sobriety of thought and diction, and having done so, will write again on the subject.

H. J. R.

THE SOCIETY'S JUBILEE

Members are asked to note that the learned and social functions to commemorate the Society's fiftieth birthday will be held on Tuesday, June 18th, 1929. Particulars will be issued in the course of the spring.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS

The fifth International Congress for the History of Religions will be held at Lund in Sweden on August 27th-29th, 1929. The Organising Committee have proposed for discussion two problems in particular: *The Soul-Concept in the History of Religions* and *Old Norse Religion*.

Correspondence regarding lectures and subjects for discussion should be addressed to the Hon. General Secretary of the Organising Committee :

PROFESSOR MARTIN P. NILSSON, Lund, Sweden.

Notification of participation and general inquiries should be made to the Hon. Secretary of the Organising Committee :

DR. E. BRIEM, Lund, Sweden.

THE DELPHI PLAYS

We are asked to state that the *Prometheus* and suppliants of Aeschylus will be given in the ancient theatre at Delphi from May 9th to May 19th, 1929. There will be three cycles of three days each, with one day's interval. Further information can be obtained from Thomas Cook & Son.

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RULES

OF THE

Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archæological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archæological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilisation.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, 40 Hon. Members, and Ordinary Members. All officers of the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex-officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society, provided that the Society shall not make any dividend, gift, division or bonus in money unto or between any of its members : in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council. All cheques shall be signed by the Treasurer and countersigned by the Secretary.

6. In the absence of the Treasurer the Council may direct that cheques may be signed by two members of Council and countersigned by the Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of five years, and shall not be immediately eligible for re-election.

17. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting for a period of one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election.

18. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

19. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

20. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

21. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

22. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

23. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

24. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

25. The names of all Candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to the Council, in whose hands their election shall rest.

26. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a single payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment. All Members elected on or after January 1, 1921, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.

27. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

28. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

29. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

30. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

31. The Council shall have power to nominate 40 British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

32. The Council may at their discretion elect from British Universities as Student-Associates :—

(a) Undergraduates.

(b) Graduates of not more than one year's standing.

(c) Women Students of equivalent status at Cambridge University.

33. Student-Associates shall be elected for a period not exceeding five years, but in all cases Student-Associateship shall be terminated at the expiration of one year from the date at which the Student takes his degree.

34. The names of Candidates wishing to become Student-Associates shall be submitted to the Council in the manner prescribed for the election of Members.

35. Every Student-Associate must be proposed by his tutor or teacher, who must be a person occupying a recognised position in the University to which the Candidate belongs, and must undertake responsibility for his Candidate, in respect of Books or Slides borrowed from the Library.

36. Student-Associates shall pay an Annual Subscription of 10s. 6d. payable on election and on January 1st of each succeeding year, without Entrance Fee. They will be entitled to receive all the privileges of the Society, with the exception of the right to vote at Meetings.

37. Student-Associates may become Full Members of the Society, without payment of Entrance Fee, at or before the expiration of their Student-Associateship.

38. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members or Student-Associates of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members or Student-Associates.

39. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

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and

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Bombay, The Library, The Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch), *Town Hall, Bombay.*

Dunedin, The Library, University of Otago, *Dunedin, New Zealand.*

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Halifax, The Library, Dalhousie University, *Halifax, N.S.*

Hayes, The Library of Hayes Court School, *Hayes, Kent.*

Knoxville, The Library, University of Tennessee, *Knoxville, Tenn., U.S.A.*

London, The Library of the County Secondary School, *Peckham Road, S.E. 15.*

Luxor, The Library of the Oriental Institute, *Chicago House, Luxor, Upper Egypt.*

New York, The Library, Japanese M.E. Church, *320, West 108th Street, New York, U.S.A.*

„ The Washington Square Library, New York University, *32, Waverley Place, New York, U.S.A.*

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Swarthmore, The Library of Swarthmore College, *Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*

PROCEEDINGS

SESSION 1927-28

THE following meetings were held during the past session :—

- (1) November 8th, 1927. Mr. H. G. Payne: *The Early Greek Necropolis of Cnossus*. Mr. R. Hinks: *Porphyry Sculpture*. See below, p. xix.
- (2) February 7th, 1928. Professor J. L. Myres: *The Historical Content of Greek Folk-memory*. See below, p. xx.
- (3) May 8th, 1928. Dr. J. Arbuthnot Nairn: *Archaeology in Schools*. See below, p. xx.

- (4) The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING was held at Burlington House on Tuesday, June 26th, 1928, Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, President of the Society, occupying the chair.

Mr. George A. Macmillan was elected acting President for the period of the President's absence as Director of the British School at Rome. The following elections were made :—

VICE-PRESIDENTS.—Mr. N. H. Baynes, Mr. George A. Macmillan, Professor A. C. Pearson, and Mr. H. B. Walters.

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL.—Professor E. R. Dodds, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, Dame Emily Penrose, Miss E. R. Price, Professor M. T. Smiley, and Mr. T. B. L. Webster.

The following Annual Report of the Council was then submitted by the Society's Hon. Secretary, Miss C. A. Hutton.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded :—

The Main Situation.

The general situation may be stated thus. The Society's membership, revenues and activities increase. But with these expenditure increases, and meantime there is a debt of £3,000. Whatever else is done for the Society's approaching Jubilee (June, 1929), special effort must be made to clear off that debt.

Obituary.

Among familiar names that have passed from the Society's Roll during the Session are those of Dr. Hogarth and Miss Harrison, both Vice-Presidents, the Rev. A. G. Bather, a former student of the School at Athens, Professor John Burnet of St. Andrews University, Miss Alice Gardner, the historian, and Mr. A. G. Hayter, the Egyptologist. The Society also regrets the loss of Mr. G. Buckland Green, Mr. T. W. Hunter, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Rev. W. Morgan and Mrs. Quibell, and of an Honorary Member, Dr. Walther Amelung.

Administrative Changes.

THE President of the Society, Mr. Arthur Hamilton Smith, has recently received a request from the Council of the British School at Rome that he

should assume the office of Director of the School. With the goodwill of his Hellenic colleagues Mr. Smith has accepted this offer. He will, however, return from Rome in time to preside at the celebration of the Society's 50th Anniversary in June, 1929. In the meantime the Council have asked the Society's Treasurer, Mr. George Macmillan, to act as President during Mr. Smith's absence.

The Council have pleasure in nominating as Vice-Presidents:—Mr. N. H. Baynes, Mr. George Macmillan, Prof. A. C. Pearson and Mr. H. B. Walters, and, as new members of Council:—Prof. E. R. Dodds, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, Dame Emily Penrose, Miss E. R. Price, Prof. M. T. Smiley and Mr. T. B. L. Webster.

They desire to re-nominate as members of the Council the following retiring members:—Mr. B. Ashmole, Mr. S. Casson, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. M. Holroyd, Miss W. Lamb, Mr. D. Macgregor and Prof. P. N. Ure.

In the course of the Session the following have been appointed Honorary Members of the Society:—Dr. Ch. Blinkenberg (Denmark), Dr. E. Breccia (Italy), Prof. C. Diehl (France), Mr. B. H. Hill (America), the Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen (Germany), Prof. M. Holleaux (France), Prof. P. Kretschmer (Austria), Mubarek Ghalib Bey (Turkey), Dr. M. Nilsson (Sweden), Dr. B. Nogara (Italy), Prof. R. Paribeni (Italy), Prof. E. Pfuhl (Switzerland), Prof. J. Strzygowski (Austria), Dr. W. Wilcken (Germany) and Dr. S. Xanthoudides (Greece).

For a long time the Council had been aware that an addition to the staff at 50 Bedford Square was necessary. They now have the pleasure to report that Mr. W. R. Le Fanu of King's College, Cambridge, has been appointed Second Librarian. The appointment maintains and strengthens the ties between the Society and the British School at Athens, as Mr. Le Fanu has been made Secretary of the School. Mr. Le Fanu took up his duties in the autumn of last year, and the advantage to the Society of this addition to the staff is already felt.

Meetings.

At the first General Meeting of the Session, held on November 8th, 1927, Mr. H. G. Payne gave an account of the results of excavations conducted last May in the early Greek necropolis of Cnossus, and showed slides of vases ranging from the sub-Mycenean to the early archaic period (eleventh to seventh centuries B.C.), and illustrating the evolution of the archaic Greek style in Crete. The most important of this year's finds was a remarkable series of late geometric and early orientalisising vases of local make with polychrome decorations in red and black. The designs of this style showed both abstract and floral patterns and friezes of birds, fishes, etc.; apart from its intrinsic interest this series was of great importance for its connexion with that of contemporary vases from Cyprus, and for the light it threw on the relations between Crete and Cyprus in the eighth and seventh centuries. It was hoped that the excavation will be continued next year.

Mr. R. Hinks followed with a paper on 'Porphyry Sculpture.'

The appearance of porphyry as a material for sculpture was a symptom of the decline of the Hellenistic cult of naturalism; and its application to purely Greco-Roman subjects was a sign of the eclectic and cosmopolitan taste of the Empire. Though it was an Egyptian material, and though it was probably always worked by Alexandrian craftsmen, the earliest specimens of porphyry sculpture, dating from about the time of Trajan, showed no modifications of the ordinary Greco-Roman technique to suit the new medium. It was not used intelligently until the beginning of the fourth century A.D.; the bust of Maximinus Daza in Cairo and a contemporary torso in Turin were the earliest figures in which the artistic properties of the stone were properly exploited. But how admirable and effective the material could be when used with a full understanding of its special qualities was displayed in the brilliant surface, rich colour, and sharp profiles of the colossal sarcophagi of Helena and Constantia in the Vatican. The same

qualities were apparent in the statue perhaps representing Theodosius the Great at Ravenna and in the head in Venice sometimes identified as Justinian II.

The President and Mrs. Esdaile took part in the subsequent discussion, which closed with the customary expressions of thanks to the readers of the papers.

The second General Meeting was held on February 7th, 1928, when Professor J. L. Myres read a paper on 'The Historical Content of Greek Folk-memory.'

Folk-memory included two classes of information: traditions about objects or customs believed to commemorate events, and traditions about persons and their relations with each other. Both classes might arise in part through attempts to explain facts of which the original significance was lost; but both also might preserve historical information.

In traditions about persons, the consistency of genealogical relationships was of importance, when it could be shown that these relationships were of practical value as proof of status or landownership, and also that the state of society in which they had this value had been terminated by abrupt political changes. The coherence of such a system of genealogies became more significant historically when it was possible to determine from independent evidence the events which established such a state of society, because a reason was thus given why the genealogies should begin abruptly at this or that point.

Those Greek genealogies which came down into historic times usually began within the period of conquest or migration in the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. Only a few went back into the 'Heroic Age' of the thirteenth. Chadwick had already shown how the genealogies of the Homeric heroes usually began abruptly 'with a God' in the generation of 1260 B.C., and had connected this with the movement of Phrygian tribes into Asia Minor. Other pedigrees, like that of Nestor, went back to another crisis in the generation of 1400 B.C., and as this was approximately the date of the fall of Cnossus, it was suggested that the 'Coming of Hellen and his sons' was connected with that event, together with the coming of the Cadmeians into Boeotia.

Only a few genealogies went back beyond the fall of Cnossus, but those which did so gave important glimpses of the condition of mainland Greece—examples were the royal families of Attica and Argolis, and those other 'children of Deucalion' who were not also 'children of Hellen.'

The President, thanking Prof. Myres for his paper, pointed out that with this attempt to give chronological importance to the mythical genealogies, the wheel of historical study had completed a full turn. It was in the winter of 1627 that Selden and Junius deciphered the dates of the Parian chronicle in Lord Arundel's garden, beginning with the entry 'Since Cecrops reigned at Athens, 1318 years . . .' Since that date, historians for nearly three centuries made less and less use of the mythical chronologies and pedigrees. Grote merely told the stories, but repudiated the idea that they had historical value. G. Curtius used them with ingenuity as related to early trade routes and the like. Holm analysed the process by which the chronologies had been built up, and tried to extract such truth as they contained. Now at length, thirty years after Cretan discoveries had revolutionised our views, Prof. Myres was returning to the precise dates of the ancient mythographers and chronologists.

At the third General Meeting, held on May 8th, Dr. J. Arbuthnot Nairn delivered a lecture on 'Archaeology in Schools.' He discussed the direct teaching of Archaeology by lectures and in class; he strongly recommended an increased use of the School Museum or 'Thesaurus,' to be managed by the boys or girls themselves, and showed slides of certain such museums already flourishing. He described the work done by the Archaeological Aids Committee (of the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching), the secretary of which was Miss Weavers, West

Ham High School, E. 15. He advocated visits to museums and sites, and the co-operation of schools; and suggested that from time to time a School number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* might be issued.

In the discussion which followed Professor Ernest Gardner spoke of the difficulties in striking a true balance between originals and reproductions in school and other small museums. He advocated increased archaeological teaching in the Universities to provide the schools with teachers better equipped than heretofore in this respect. He also spoke of the success of the scheme for Central Lectures to groups of schools undertaken at University College, London.

Mr. Pryce, the editor of the *Journal*, maintained the necessity of keeping the *Journal* as an organ for research, and suggested the issue of a separate *Journal* for schools.

Mr. N. H. Baynes laid stress on the importance of homogeneity in the *Journal*, and advocated also a separate publication for schools on the lines of the *American Classical Journal*.

Mr. Penoyre spoke of the great prestige of the *Journal* in its present form in the world of scholarship and of the facilities already provided by the Society for schools. He thought that the school museum met a demand possibly small but very genuinely felt.

The President, in returning thanks to Dr. Nairn, spoke of the importance of making the *Journal* of interest to all members of the Society.

The Joint Library and Slide Collections.

To illustrate the work of the past Session, figures are given showing the activities of the Library during (a) a pre-war Session, (b) the last Session, and (c) the Session just concluded.

	(a) 1912-13	(b) 1926-27	(c) 1927-28
Books added to the Library	489	479	312
Books borrowed	938	2,961	3,389
Slides added to the Collections ...	363	259	327
Slides borrowed	3,578	12,216	10,371
Slides sold	506	2,221	1,291
Photographs sold	345	355	851

The satisfactory feature of the above figures is that they indicate that, while additions to the Library and slide collections have had to be cut down from motives of economy, the use made of the materials at command is now very large. The borrowing of books has again increased: the slides, possibly owing to the enhanced prices found necessary, have been less used than during the last 'record' Session.

The following works of special interest have been added to the Library:—The long-expected definitive work by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens on *The Erechtheum* (edited by J. M. Paton); the revised edition of Anderson and Spiers' *Architecture of Greece and Rome* by T. Ashby and W. Dinsmoor; the fine publication of the Vienna Cameos by F. Eichler and E. Kris; the in honorem *Essays in Aegean Archaeology* presented to Sir Arthur Evans (edited by S. Casson); Dr. Inge's edition of *The Philosophy of Plotinus*; P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente Griechischer Vasen*; A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*; T. E. Lawrence, *Revolt in the Desert*; F. Matz, *Die Frühkretischen Siegel*; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile*; M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaeen Religion*; D. Randall-MacIver, *The Etruscans*; D. Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy*; A. della Seta, *Italia Antica*; W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*; A. E. Taylor, *A*

Commentary on Plato's Timaeus; E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*.

The above are new isolated works, but meantime important additions have been received to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*, the new edition of Liddell and Scott, Iwan Mueller's *Handbuch*, the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Sir Arthur Evans' master work on the Palace of Knossos, Messrs. Mattingly and Sydenham's *Roman Coinage* and the Loeb and Budé translations. Yet perhaps the Library's main strength is in its periodical publications. Of these it receives over 100 volumes per annum, including publications, inaccessible elsewhere, from India, Egypt, Russia, Scandinavia and the Balkan States.

The collection of maps has been strengthened by the addition of over 100 sheets covering Greece and Asia Minor. The catalogue of these will appear in the next list of accessions to the Library.

For the convenience of readers the Library copy of the Catalogue, which had grown too large to handle, has now been divided into two volumes.

The two Councils wish to express their sincere thanks for gifts of books to the following :—

Authors : Miss Alford, Dr. Thomas Ashby, Mr. E. H. Tindal Atkinson, Dr. H. I. Bell, Dr. E. Bickermann, Mr. Champlin Burrage, Monsieur Jean Colin, Dr. C. van Essen, Sir Arthur Evans, Mr. E. H. Freshfield, Dr. L. Frölich, the Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, Mr. G. H. Hallam, Dr. W. R. Halliday, the Rev. J. Arnott Hamilton, Mr. Gordon Home, Monsieur Léon Homo, Dr. A. D. Keramopoulos, Prof. M. L. W. Laistner, the Rev. Dr. L. Laurand, Dr. B. Lavagnini, Dr. M. A. Levi, Dr. J. G. Milne, Dr. A. N. Modona, Monsieur Georges Nicole, Dr. W. A. Oldfather, Dr. A. K. Orlandos, Signor U. E. Paoli, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie, Dr. F. Poulsen, Miss I. C. Ringwood, Prof. D. M. Robinson, Prof. L. Roussel, Mr. R. A. Rye, Mr. F. S. Salisbury, Mr. F. W. Saxby, Dr. Louis Séchan, Dr. Skipis, Dr. G. A. S. Smijder, Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. L. A. Stella, Dr. F. Studniczka, Dr. P. Terruzzi, Prof. P. N. Ure, Dr. V. Valdenberg, Dr. de Waele, Mr. S. E. Winbolt, Dr. P. Wolters.

Donors of Miscellaneous Works : Miss Alford, Mr. N. H. Baynes, Mr. A. Caspersz, Mrs. Culley, the Rev. E. L. Fell, the Rev. R. E. Frampton, Mr. A. W. Gomme, Mrs. F. W. Hasluck, Mr. F. C. W. Hiley, Miss W. Lamb, Mr. A. W. Lawrence, Mrs. McArthur, Mr. George A. Macmillan, Dr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne, Prof. E. H. Minns, Dr. F. Oswald, Mr. L. J. D. Richardson, Mr. W. W. Tarn, Dr. S. Witkowski, Mr. G. M. Young, and the Librarian.

The Presses of the following Universities : Cambridge, Catholic University of America, Chicago, Harvard, Illinois, Johns Hopkins, Michigan, Oxford (Mr. Humphrey Milford), Pennsylvania.

The following Institutions and Associations : The Archaeological Survey of India, l'Association Guillaume Budé, the British Academy, the Budapest Museum, the Cambrian Archaeological Association, the Colchester and Essex Museum, Comitato permanente per l'Etruria, l'École française d'Athènes, the Excavation Committee of Caerhun (Kanovium), the Frankfort Archaeological Institute, the Italian Touring Club of Milan, the North of England Excavation Committee, Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Royal Ontario Museum, the Royal Society of Letters of Lund, la Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Smith College, Massachusetts, the Student Christian Movement, the Trustees of the British Museum.

The following publishing houses : Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, Almqvist and Wiksells, the Amalgamated Press (Harmsworth), Appelberg, Edward Arnold, B. T. Batsford, C. H. Beck, G. Bell and Sons, Ernest Benn, E. Berlings, E. de Boccard, F. Bruckmann, A. Bruderhausen, Jonathan Cape, Honoré Champion, the Chiswick Press, A. Deichertschen, Jacob Dybwad, W. Engelmann, Benno Filser, Gustav Fischer, Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, J. Gabalda, Paul Geuthner, Ginn and Co., W. de Gruyter and Co., Gyldendalske Boghandel-Nordisk

Forlag, G. G. Harrap, J. C. Hinrichs, Holt and Co., Knorr und Hirth, W. Kohlhammer, J. Kösel and F. Pustet, Maurice Lamertin, Longmans, Green and Co., Macmillan and Co., Maisonneuve Frères, Felix Meiner, Methuen, Humphrey Milford, J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), John Murray, Cecil Palmer, G. B. Paravia, H. J. Paris, La Renaissance du Livre, A. Rey, Rivington, R. Cobden Sanderson, Hans Schoetz, Anton Schroll, Benno Schwabe, A. W. Sitjhoff, Spink and Son, Libreria Spithoever, B. G. Teubner, Richard Uhde, T. Fisher Unwin, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, Weidmann, Carl Winter.

In the Photographic Department the sets of slides are increasingly used. Most of these are accompanied by a text, the work of a recognized authority; some have annotated lists of the slides which aim at supplying the lecturer with the essential facts of his pictures, leaving him free to adopt his own method of presenting them. It may interest members to have the complete list of subjects appended.

Greek.

The Prehellenic Age (no text).
The Geography of Greece (A. J. Toynbee).
Ancient Athens : historical sketch (S. Casson).
Ancient Athens : topographical (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).
Ancient Architecture (D. S. Robertson).
Greek Sculpture (J. Penoyre).
The Parthenon (A. H. Smith).
Greek Vases (M. A. B. Braunholtz).
A Survey of early Greek Coins : 7 slides showing 49 coins (P. Gardner).
Some Coins of Sicily (G. F. Hill).
Greek Papyri (H. I. Bell).
Olympia and Greek Athletics (E. N. Gardiner).
Xenophon : the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's Anabasis (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).
Alexander the Great (D. G. Hogarth).
The Travels of St. Paul (no text).
The Ancient Theatre (J. T. Sheppard).
Ancient Life, Greek (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).

Roman.

Ancient Life, Roman (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).
Rome (H. M. Last).
The Roman Forum (G. H. Hallam).
The Roman Forum, for advanced students (T. Ashby).
The Palatine and Capitol (T. Ashby).
The Via Appia (R. Gardner).
The Roman Campagna (T. Ashby).
Roman Portraiture (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).
Horace (G. H. Hallam).
Pompeii (A. van Buren).
Ostia (T. Ashby).
Ostia (R. Meiggs).
Sicily (H. E. Butler).
The Roman Rhone (S. E. Winbolt).
Timagad (H. E. Butler).
Roman Britain (Mortimer Wheeler).
The Roman Wall (R. G. Collingwood).

The sets consist of about 50 carefully selected slides and the cost of hire, including the text and postage to members, is 7s. 6d.

Mr. N. H. Baynes has retired from the Propaganda Committee of which he had been convener since the move to Bedford Square. Mr. Baynes is to be congratulated on the production of yet a third edition of the *Claim of Antiquity*, an advisory pamphlet on books useful for those attracted by the world of Greece and Rome, but requiring a friendly guide for its exploration. This useful pamphlet is on sale at Bedford Square (6d.), as also the Committee's second recommendatory pamphlet, called the *Geography of the Ancient World*, at the same price. This consists of lists of the best maps for use in classical teaching. The Committee is now at work on a third recommendatory pamphlet on the subject of Pictures

in Schools. Since Mr. Baynes's retirement Mr. Penoyre has resumed the office of convener.

In last year's report attention was drawn to a set of enlargements in adjustable frames suitable for the decoration of a Sixth Form room. Eight of these sets have been sold during the year. A specimen set is on view at Bedford Square. The price is £6 6s. with, and £3 3s. without, the adjustable frames.

The Library is much indebted to Mr. A. W. Lawrence for a generous gift of photographs of later sculpture. These cover the studies on which his recent book on Hellenistic sculpture was based. They have been annotated by the author, mounted and placed in the general collection.

Other recent donors to the photographic collections are : The British School at Athens, the British School at Rome (Archaeological Faculty), Mr. R. C. Bosanquet, Prof. H. E. Butler, Dr. M. O. B. Cary, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. G. H. Hallam, the Rev. J. W. Hunkins, Miss D. L. Lowe, Miss Janet Low, Miss E. Lupton, Dr. and Mrs. Grafton Milne, Prof. H. J. Rose, Mr. Arthur Smith, Mr. S. G. B. Stubbs, Prof. Ure and the late Sir Charles Walston.

Finance.

The Members of the Society at the present time number 1338 and the Student Associates 106. There are in addition 302 subscribing Libraries.

A comparison of the figures in the accounts for the years 1926 and 1927 calls for little in the way of special mention. Speaking broadly the two years vary but little under any particular heading. It is regretted that income has again just fallen short of our expenditure, but this perhaps was inevitable, taking into consideration the developments of the past few years. Although revenues have increased, expenses have necessarily gone up also. The addition of another 100 names to the Roll of Members would be most welcome.

The Council gratefully note that donations to the Library Premises Account received during the year amount to the sum of £240. Unfortunately this has been offset by the legal charges in connexion with an appeal against the rates imposed. The money spent on this, however, has proved a good investment, as the Society will save at least £120 annually, thanks to the appeal having succeeded. It might be noted in passing that if only donations towards paying off the outstanding debt of £3,000 were forthcoming, it would be possible to clear off the bank overdraft. This would automatically eliminate the charge of £74 for interest, and also that for the proportion transferred annually (about £140) from the Library Premises Account. This would mean that we should show a balance on the right side in our Income and Expenditure Account.

The President moved the adoption of the above report, which was seconded by Mr. F. S. Salisbury, put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Professor Percy Gardner moved a vote of thanks to the Society's auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. Macmillan. This was seconded by Mr. Penoyre and carried unanimously.

Information was given by the Hon. Treasurer as to the proposed celebration of the Society's 50th anniversary on June 18th, 1929.

The President then delivered his annual address, in the course of which he spoke of the Society's losses during the past year, specially naming Dr. David Hogarth, Miss Jane Harrison, Miss Alice Gardner, and the Rev. A. G. Bather. He then exhibited on the screen a remarkable bronze statuette, found in Central Italy. The figure was that of a draped woman, with a pomegranate flower in one

hand and a pomegranate fruit in the other, and therefore, presumably Aphrodite. It was in the late archaic style, with a fine sleeved tunic and a Doric chiton. The overlap of the chiton fell almost to the ground in zigzag folds, both before and behind. These called to mind the archaic figures of the Acropolis and elsewhere, with this difference, that the shoulders were equally covered. A persistent fashion, before the time of the Persian wars, showed the left shoulder uncovered by the Doric chiton. There were, however, a few examples (of which the present bronze was one) which seemed to be the predecessors of the draped female figure of the late fifth century. The bronze was therefore to be assigned to the transitional period, and might be dated approximately at 460 B.C.

Professor Ernest Gardner then addressed the meeting on methods of study of Greek sculpture. He said the study of Greek sculpture might be divided into three main periods—the age of Winckelmann, the age of Brunn, and the age of Furtwängler. The princes and scholars of the Renaissance had either regarded Greek statues as ornaments for villas and gardens or as illustrations, often wrongly interpreted, of ancient history. Winckelmann and Lessing were mainly concerned with appreciation and æsthetic. It was Brunn's great achievement to provide, in his *History of Greek Artists*, a foundation on which all subsequent study is based. Furtwängler's *Masterpieces* showed a wonderful power of memory and comparison, and grouped together many statues and re-established the personality of many artists. Subsequent study owed much to his methods.

But there was still danger of erratic criticism; one example was the attempt to reassign the Olympian pediments to Paeonius and Alcamenes, and even—stranger still—to assign to the same two sculptors the pediments of the Parthenon; another was the rejection of the accepted identification of the Victory of Samothrace. In the study of Greek art it was above all necessary to 'prove all things and hold fast that which is good.' The modern student was helped in his work by the splendid series of photographs that were now available.

The thanks of the audience were accorded to the speakers by acclamation and the meeting terminated.

BALANCE SHEET: DECEMBER 31, 1927.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Debts Payable (including Bank Overdraft)	3302 12 1	By Cash in Hand—Bank	
" Subscriptions paid in advance	65 12 6	Assistant Treasurer	11 12 6
" Endowment Fund	1106 9 0.	Petty Cash	78 16 2½
(includes legacy of £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar and £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer)			93 8 8½
" Life Compositions and Donations—			398 15 6½
Total at Jan. 1, 1927	2366 11 0	Debts Receivable	
Received during year	31 10 0	Investments (Life Compositions)	1854 3 11
	2398 4 0	" (Endowment Fund)	1000 0 0
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased	17 5 0		2854 3 11
Surplus Balance at Jan. 1, 1927	2350 19 0	Less Reserved against Depreciation	100 0 0
Less Deficit Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	137 12 0½		2754 3 11
Surplus Balance at December 31, 1927	167 13 3	" Library Premises Account—	
		Balance brought forward, Jan. 1, 1927 ...	310 3 1
		Add Expenditure for year	233 19 7
		(Legal charges on Rating Appeal)	3397 2 8
		Less Donations received during year	240 5 0
			3156 17 8
		Less proportion carried to Income and Expenditure Account	137 0 0
			3019 17 8
		Valuations of Stocks of Publications	343 0 0
		" Library	350 0 0
		" Paper in hand for printing Journal	34 0 0
			£6993 5 10

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LIBRARY FUND FROM NOVEMBER 20, 1927,
TO OCTOBER 10, 1928.

	£	s.	d.
Carr, Andrew	1	1	0
Nairn, Rev. Dr. J. A.	1	0	0
Smilda, Dr. H.	1	0	0
Tarn, W. W.	20	0	0
Wood, Rev. W. Spicer	1	0	0
	24	1	0
Add amount previously acknowledged—page xxxvi, Volume 47, Part 2 of the <i>Journal of</i> <i>Hellenic Studies</i>	2198	6	7
Total amount received to date.....	<u>£2222</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>

SUPPLEMENT NO. V.
TO THE
SUBJECT CATALOGUE * OF THE JOINT LIBRARY
APPARATUS, ETC.

Periodicals

- Antiquity** ; a quarterly review of archaeology. From vol. i (1927).
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7$ in. Gloucester. *In Progress*.
- Archiv für Orientforschung**. From vol. 2 (which was published under the name Archiv für Keilschriftforschung), 1924.
 $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. Berlin. *In Progress*.
- Classical Association of Ireland** : Proceedings 1909–1920, when publication ceased. [This set lacks vol. i.]
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Dublin. 1909–1920.
- Colchester** : Corporation Museum Reports. Continued from 1927 onwards as the Colchester and Essex Museum Annual Report. From vol. i (1903).
 $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. Colchester. *In Progress*.
- Eos** : Commentarii societatis philologiae Polonorum. From vol. 30 (1927).
In Progress.
- Εύρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος**. From vol. i (1927).
 12×9 in. Athens. *In Progress*.
- Germania** : Korrespondenzblatt der römisch-germanischen Kommission. [Frankfurt. kaiserl. archäol. Institut.] From vol. i (1917).
 $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Frankfurt. *In Progress*.
- Ontario** : Bulletin of the Royal Museum of Ontario. From No. 1 (1923).
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Toronto. *In Progress*.
- Palestine Exploration Fund** : Quarterly Statement. From vol. 59 (1927).
 $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. *In Progress*.
- Symbolae Osloenses**, olim Arctoeae. From No. 2 (1924).
 $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. Oslo. *In Progress*.
- Warburg** : Bibliothek Warburg. Vorträge. From vol. i (1921–22).
 $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. Leipsic and Berlin. *In Progress*.

In honorem Works

- Evans (A. J.)** Essays in Aegean Archaeology: presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his 75th birthday.
 $10\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. ix + 142. Oxford. 1927.

* The Catalogue (published 1924) is sold to members at the reduced price of 7s. 6d. (by post 8s. 6d.).

This and other supplements are sold at 6d. each.

Address: The Assistant Librarian, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 50 Bedford Square, W.C. 1.

Lumbroso (G.) Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso (1844-1925).

10 × 7 in. pp. xlvì + 534. Milan. 1925.

Ridgeway, Sir William : Memorial notice by R. S. Conway. [Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. xii.]

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 in. pp. 10. 1927.

Educational.

Board of Education : Educational Pamphlets, No. 52. School Pictures [for Primary Schools].

9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6 in. pp. 34. 1928.

Claim of Antiquity : with an annotated list of Books for those who know neither Latin nor Greek. 3rd edition.

7 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. 34. 1927.

Kelsey (F. W.) Latin and Greek in American Education. Revised edition.

9 × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. xiii + 360. New York. 1927.

Gardner (P.) and Myres (J. L.) Classical Archaeology in Schools. 2nd edition.

8vo. Oxford. 1905.

Pfister (Chr.) Les Schweighäuser et la chaire de littérature grecque de Strasbourg (1770-1855).

10 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 44. Paris. 1927.

Rye (R. A.) The Students' Guide to the Libraries of London.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xxv + 580. 1927.

CLASSICAL AUTHORS

Greek Collected Works

Historici

Die fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Ed. F. Jacoby. 2 vols. II. Zeitgeschichte —

B. Specialgeschichten, Autobiographien, Zeittafeln :—

1. Theopompos und die Alexanderhistoriker.

Kommentar zu Nr. 106-153.

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. 250 (av. per vol.). Berlin. 1927.

Lyrici

Lyra Graeca. Being the remains of all the Greek Lyric Poets from Eumelus to Timotheus excepting Pindar. Vol. iii. Edited and translated by J. M. Edmonds. [Loeb Class. Lib.]

6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xi + 719. 1927.

I lirici Ellenistici. Asclepiade—Callimaco—Meleagro—Filodemo.

Epigrammi colla versione latina. B. Lavagnini.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 in. pp. xii + 57. Turin, etc. 1928.

*Medici***Corpus medicorum Graecorum.**

I. i. Hippocrates. *Ed.* I. L. Heiberg.
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xii + 146. Berlin and Leipsic. 1927.

IV. Soranus. *Ed.* J. Ilberg.
 Gynaeciorum libri iv.
 De signis fracturarum.
 De fasciis.
 Vita Hippocratis.

$10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xxi + 282. Leipsic and Berlin. 1927.

VI. i (1) Oribasius. *Ed.* J. Raeder.
 Collectionum medicarum reliquiae. Vol. i. Libri i-viii.
 $10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. viii + 300. Leipsic and Berlin. 1928.

VI. iii. Oribasius. *Ed.* J. Raeder.
 Synopsis ad Eustathium.
 Libri ad Eunapium.

$10 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. x + 498. Leipsic and Berlin. 1926.

Septuagint. OTTLEY (R. R.) A handbook to the Septuagint.
 $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. xv + 296. 1920.

Testament, The Greek. Novum testamentum graece cum apparatu critico curavit D. Eberhard Nestle. [13th edition by Erwin Nestle.]

$6 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xxxvi + 657. Stuttgart. 1927.

Greek Authors

Aeschylus. Die Schutzfliehende. *Ed.* J. Vuertheim.

$10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xii + 253. Amsterdam. 1928.

—— LAVAGNINI (B.) L'azione drammatica nei Persiani di Eschilo.
 [Athenaeum v, 4. 1927.]

$9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. pp. 7. Pavia. 1927.

Alcaeus. Ἀλκαίου μέλη. The fragments of the lyrical poems of Alcaeus. *Ed.* E. Lobel.

$9 \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. xcvii + 75. Oxford. 1927.

Apollonius Rhodius. Argonautica. *Ed.* R. C. Seaton.

$7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in. pp. viii + 192. Oxford. [1900.]

—— The Story of Medea (Argonautica, Bk. iii and Bk. iv, 1-211).
Eds. J. H. E. Crees and J. C. Wordsworth.

$6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in. pp. xv + 83. Cambridge. 1927.

—— The Argonautica, Bk. iii. *Ed.* M. M. Gillies.

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Some at least will presumably cover the whole of Hellas when complete.

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Kozani. " 28×33 in.

Serbia (a town in Monastir district).

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—— 1 : 200,000. 9 sheets, some dated 1925.

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 C4109 " East section of Palace (*id.* plan B).
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B5049 **Kirby Lonsdale**, Roman Milestone (insc. MPLIII) on Carlisle to Chester road.
B5045 **Roman wall**, evolution of frontier, i. Agricola's Road: Construction of fortæ.
B5046 „ „ „ „ ii. The Vallum: the Wall.
B5047 „ Cilurnum, plan.
B4349 „ Vindolana, standing stone on Barcum Hill.
B5048 „ the end of the Wall: drawing by J. Aston.

Prehellenic and non-Greek.

- C4059** Neolithic Vase, N. China. Collection Wannieck, Paris.
C4060 Central Persian Vase, c. 3000 B.C.
C4061 Beisan, Palestine. Vase fragments, 1400 B.C.
C4069 Gold funerary wig of Meskalam Dug, from Ur.
C3679 Persian Seal, Great King in conflict with Greeks (Dalton, *Oxus*, 2nd ed., pl. xiv, 11).
C2955 Amphorae from Tomb of Aegisthus, Mycenae (*B.S.A.* xxv, pl. 50).
C3692 Cnossos, fresco in Queen's Megaron: lady dancing (*B.S.A.* viii, p. 55, fig. 28).
C3695 Stele from Mycenae: chariot and hunting scene (Schliemann, *Myc.*, p. 52).
C4233 Girl in swing: Minoan terracotta. Met. Mus., New York.
C4232 A toy horse: early Cypriote terracotta. Met. Mus., New York.
C3696 Carnelian seal stones with pictographs (Hall, *Aeg. Arch.*, figs. 90 and 91).
C3693 Clay seal impression: boatman and sea monster (*B.S.A.* ix, p. 58, fig. 36).
C3694 Seal impression with design completed: horse and ship (*B.S.A.* xi, p. 13, fig. 7).

Architectural Details.

- B5440** Corinthian frieze built into tabularium, Rome.
B5426 *opus incertum*: temple of Jupiter at Terracina (Della Seta, *Italia Antica*, fig. 385).
B5427 *opus reticulatum*: Mausoleum of Augustus (*id.*, fig. 386).
B5428 *opus latericum*: Amphitheatrum castrense (*id.*, fig. 387).

Inscriptions.

- C3216** Fragment of shield inscribed with route of its owner (*Doura Europos*, pl. 109).
C4219 Pocket-book containing nine wax tablets (Berlin. Mus.).
C4220 Inscribed leaf from above.
C3659 Pompeian shop-sign (Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, xv. 1).
C3666 Pompeii: graffito satirising Proculus (*J.R.S.* xvi, fig. 50).

Sculpture.

Early Oriental.

- C3890** Assyrian bull, winged and man-headed. B.M.
C3676 The Great King and two attendants (Texier, *Arménie*, II, pl. 111 *ter*).
C4052 Xerxes enthroned: relief in Persepolis, Hall of a Hundred Columns.

- C4053 Colossal bulls. Persepolis : palace gateway.
 C4054 Lion head from staircase. Persepolis : Palace of Darius.

Archaic Art.

- C4225 Seated goddess. Berlin Mus. Profile view.
 C4202 " " " Head.
 C4203 Standing goddess, head of. Berlin Mus.
 C4224 Male portrait head. Berlin Mus.
 C4214 Metope : a sphinx, Selinus.
 C4201 Standing warrior from E. pedt. of Aegina.

- C4210 Olympia, W. pedt., head of young Lapith.
 C4211 " Metope of Atlas, Athena.
 C4212 " " " Heracles.
 C4213 " " " Atlas.

The Parthenon.

- C3796 Metope. Draped female figures. B.M. 322 (Mich. iv. N. 32).
 C3713 E. frieze. Maidens (Mich. xiv. 57-61).
 C3740 W. frieze. Preparation for a cavalry procession (Mich. ix. 4-7).
 C3741 " Standing youth and two riders (Mich. ix. 6-8).
 C3742 " Youth unmounted with horse : mounted youth (Mich. ix. 9, 10).
 C3746 " Two riders, one with petasos (Mich. ix. 16, 17).
 C3776 S. frieze. Youths with ox for sacrifice (Mich. xi. 111-115).

Other Fifth Century Works.

- C4240 Myronian discobolus, head. Basel (*Arch. Anz.*, 1925, p. 26, fig. 5).
 C4222 Head of the diadumenos after Polycleitus. Albertinum.
 C4072 Relief from Gjolbaschi-Trysa : the storming of a town (*Benndorf, Heroon*, pl. 12).
 C3931 Portion of the frieze of the Erechtheum (B.M., *Cat. of Sculpt.*, I. p. 237).
 C4070 5th-cent. female head : the Humphry Ward head (*J.H.S.*, 1894, pl. v, left).

Fourth Century.

- C4062 Aphrodite of Cnidos : the Brussels torso.
 C4063 " " the Copenhagen head.
 C4064 " " cast of Copenhagen head on Brussels torso.
 C4223 Torso of Eirene. Met. Mus., New York.
 C4204 4th-cent. female head from Chios. Profile view. Boston Mus.
 C4205 Head of Herakles from Tegean pediment.
 C4206 Head of a warrior from Tegean pediment.
 C4029 The ' Meleager ' head. Rome, Villa Medici (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 4a).
 C3827 Mausoleum. Colossal horse. B.M. 1002.
 C3985 Lion from Mausoleum. B.M.
 C4030 Female head from Pergamon. Berlin (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 44).
 C4239 Attic grave relief : lady-nurse and child. Leiden.
 C4227 " " girl with pyxis.
 C4221 " " little girl with doves. Met. Mus., New York.
 C4031 Relief : a dancing girl. Constantinople (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 45).

Hellenistic Sculpture.

- C3842 Aphrodite : cast in B.M. of the Venus de Medici.
 C4014 Centaur, head of a. Conservatori Mus. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 46b).
 C3846 Endymion asleep on Mt. Latmos. B.M. 1567.
 C3839 Hermes. Graeco-Roman marble statue. B.M. 1599.
 C3845 Mithras slaying the bull. Marble group. B.M. 1720.
 C4013 Satyr, the Barberini faun. Munich (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 34b).

Genre Sculpture.

- C4018 Head of a little boy. Alexandria (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 22a).
 C4032 Youthful boxer. Constantinople Mus. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 74).

- C4033** Head of the above (*id.*, pl. 75).
C3964 Boy extracting thorn from foot. B.M. 1755.
B5421 Head of a little boy. Mus. Vat.
C4034 Girl with Dove. Munich (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 21).
C4017 Two children: fragment of Sarcophagus. Ashmolean Mus.
C4016 Head of an old peasant. Dresden (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 68b).
C4226 *id.*, on larger scale.
C4015 Old Woman. New York, Met. Mus. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 68c).
C2959 Captive barbarian from Alexandria. B.M. 1772.

Late Sculpture in Porphyry.

- C2946** **Athena**, seated statue in porphyry: early 2nd cent. A.D. Louvre.
C2938 Male draped torso, 2nd cent. A.D. Conservatori Mus.
C2939 Pairs of Emperors embracing. 2 columns. Biblioteca Vaticana.
C2942 Head of Byzantine Emperor (? Justinian II). Venice.
C2943 Male torso in armour. Turin.
C2944 Torso, draped in pallium, grasping hilt. Berlin.
C2945 Colossal male seated figure. Alexandria.
C2947 Columns with Imperial busts. Louvre.
C2948 Colossal bearded portrait bust (? Antonine period). Met. Mus., New York.
C2949 Male torso, draped, grasping hilt of sword. Ravenna.
C2950 Male draped statuette. Vienna.
C2936 Barbarian prisoner, 2nd cent. A.D. Florence: Boboli Gardens.
C2937 „ „ 2nd cent. A.D. Florence: Boboli Gardens.

- C4009** B.M. View in Third Graeco-Roman room.

Late Reliefs.

- B5053** Aurelius with barbarian prisoners (*P.B.S.R.*, iii, pl. xxiii, 1).
C2968 Victory writing on a shield: arch of Constantine, relief on column base.
C2969 Trophy with captive barbarians: arch of Constantine, relief on column base.
B5108 Relief on the interior of the arch of Trajan at Benevento: sacrificial scene.
B5109 *id.*, congiarium (cf. Domazewski, *Jahreshefte*, ii, p. 191).
C2963 Roman general receiving suppliant barbarians. Rome: Pal. Torlonia.
C2962 Soldiers carrying a Trophy on a Ferculum. Rome: Mus. Naz., Ludovisi Coll.

- C3672** Mule cart with barrel (Rostovtzeff, *Roman Empire*, xxiii, 3).
C3669 Blacksmiths at work (*id.* xxiv, 4).
C3661 Italian harbour (*id.* xxi, 1).
C3663 A Cobbler (*id.* xxiii, 4).

Sarcophagi.

- C2964** Roman general receiving suppliant barbarians. Mus. Vat.
C2961 Battle between Romans and barbarians. Mus. Naz., Ludovisi Coll.
C2940 Porphyry sarcophagus of Saint Helena. Mus. Vat.
C2941 Porphyry sarcophagus of Saint Constantia. Mus. Vat.

Etruscan Art.

- B5446** Sarcophagus: male portrait head (Ny Carlsberg Mus., *Bildertafeln*, p. 123).
C3871 Terracotta sarcophagus of Seianti Thanunia, 2nd cent. B.C., from Cervetri. B.M.
B5112 Sepulchral Chest: funerary portrait: combat scenes. (Henniker Heaton Coll.)

Provincial Art.

- B5409** Gallic warrior leaning on his shield. From Mondragon. Musée St. Germain.
C4071 Mithraic Tablet from London (*J.R.S.*, 2, fig. 14, p. 143).
B5052 Colchester: funerary relief of Longinus.
B5419 Statue of a Roman soldier. York Mus.

Portraits.

- C4229** **Alexander**, the Louvre herm. Full face.

- C4035 **Alexander**, Constantinople Mus. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 46a).
 C4019 " Athens, Acropolis Mus. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 10b).
 B5422 **Augustus** : head of the statue found in the Via Labicana.
 B5407 " head in relief. Berlin Mus.
 C3838 ' **Caligula** ' : Roman equestrian statue. B.M. 1886.
 C4020 **Chrysippus**? head in profile. B.M.
 B5424 **Constantine**, head of. Mus. Conservatori.
 B5423 **Decebalus**, head from the Trajan column.
 C2967 " " " "
 C4021 **Demetrius I**, head of a bronze statue. Rome, Mus. Naz. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 51b).
 C4023 **Demosthenes** (head). Ashmolean (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 20b).
 C4216 **Epicurus**. The New York head.
 C4215 **Euthydemus I** of Bactria. Rome, Mus. Torlonia.
 C3863 **Hadrian**. Marble statue in military costume. B.M. 1895.
 C2965 " colossal statue from Hierapytna. Constantinople.
 C3875 " and Antinous. Busts. B.M. 1897 and 1899.
 C4022 **Homer** (head). Boston.
 C3966 **Julius Caesar** (head). $\frac{3}{4}$ face. B.M.
 B5447 **Maximinus** the Thracian, head of (Delbrueck, *Porträts*, pl. 52).
 C2951 " " (probably). Porphyry bust. Cairo Mus.
 C4024 **Menander** (head). Philadelphia (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 18b).
 C3634 **Plato**, Holkham Hall bust. Full face.
 C3635 " " " Profile.
 C3688 **Socrates**, marble statuette, facing. B.M. (*J.H.S.* xlv. pl. 10).
 C3689 " " " Three-quarter view to left (*id.*, pl. 11).
 B5425 **Valentinian I**, head of the colossal statue at Barletta.
 B5445 **Vespasian**, head of. Ny Carlsberg Mus.

- C2966 Head of Dacian Chief. Vatican (Braccio nuovo 127).

Bronzes.

- C4218 Apollo, archaic bronze statuette from Delphi.
 C3979 Poseidon. Bronze statuette from Paramythia. B.M. 274.
 C3973 Zeus. Bronze statuette from Paramythia. B.M. 275.
 C3974 " " " " " Back view.
 C3970 Apollo. Bronze statuette from Thessaly. B.M. 271.
 B5408 Dead Gaul from Alesia. St. Germain Mus.
 C4025 Bronze portrait head from Delos. Ath. Nat. Mus. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 56b).

Terracottas.

- C4230 Tanagra group: ladies playing knucklebones. B.M.
 C4038 " " ladies conversing. Toronto.
 C4037 Tanagra figure: a lady. Toronto.
 C4217 " " " (Köster, *Griechische Terrakotten*, 52).
 C4026 " " a lady with bird. Toronto.
 C4027 " " nurse and child. Dresden (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 3b).
 C4228 Tanagra figure: lady making up in mirror. Met. Mus., New York.
 C4036 Eros. 15 statuettes. Boston Mus. (Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 1).
 C4065 Attic Masks: a tragic heroine, a messenger and a courtesan.

Vases.

- C3911 Three hydriæ in bucchero nero. B.M.
 C3908 Group of B.-F. pottery: Cylices, stamnoi, etc. B.M.
 C3915 A Panathenaic amphora, showing archaistic Athena. B.M.
 C4208 Panathenaic amphora: typical inscription.
 C4028 Boys playing the flute and dancing. B.-F. Boeotian Vase. Berlin.
 C3940 Vase in form of a knucklebone: girls dressed as birds dancing. B.M. E.804.
 C4231 " " " " " "
 C3900 Group of three R.-F. Cylices. B.M.

- c3892 Group of ten R.-F. Cylices. B.M.
 c3895 Apulian Crater, showing death of Hippolytus. B.M. F.279.
-
- c3913 The making of Pandora : white grounded Cylix. B.M. D.4.
 c4241 White Attic lekythos : child with toy cart. Met. Mus., New York.
-
- c3959 The Portland Vase. B.M.
 c3960 " " "
-

Terra Sigillata.

The following slides are taken from *An introduction to the study of Terra Sigillata* by F. Oswald and T. Davies Pryce.

They are all from Dr. Oswald's drawings and are a selection only from the comprehensive series of negatives bearing on this subject presented by him to the Society.

The main references are to the plates in *Terra Sigillata*. The provenance of each vase and its classification according to continental scholars are also given.

	Oswald and Pryce.	Provenance.	Other authorities.
B5071	Pl. vii, 3	London.	Dragendorff, ¹ Form 30.
	" 6	Strasbourg.	" "
	" 7	Hofheim.	" "
B5072	Pl. viii, 1	Strasbourg.	" "
	" 2	Vienna.	" "
	" 5	London.	" "
	" 6	Strasbourg.	" "
B5073	" 2	Sandy, Beds. (B.M.).	" "
	" 4	Rottweil.	" "
	" 7	London (B.M.).	" "
	" 8	Westerndorf.	" "
B5078	Pl. xi, 6	Pompeii.	" " 37.
	" 7	Rottweil.	" "
	" 8	Newstead I.	" "
B5079	Pl. xii, 1	Wingham, Kent.	" "
	" 2	Auvergne.	" "
	" 3	"	" "
B5080	" 4	Newstead.	" "
	" 5	Baden Baden.	" "
	" 6	Köngen.	" "
B5087	Pl. xix, 1	Roanne.	" " 11.
	" 2	Silchester.	" " 29.
	" 3	Banassac.	" " 37.
	" 4	Pompeii.	" " 37.
B5088	Pl. xxi, 1	Hofheim I.	" " 11.
	" 2	Hofheim II.	Knorr, ² Form 78.
	" 3	Rottweil.	" "
	" 4	Lezoux.	Dechelette, ³ Form 64.
	" 5	Oundle.	" "
	" 6	Colchester.	" "
	" 7	Vichy.	" " 65.
B5089	" 8	Aislingen.	" " 67.
	" 9	Lezoux (?).	" "
	" 10	Hofheim II.	" "
	" 11	Newstead I.	" "
	" 12	"	" "
	" 13	Rottweil.	" "
	" 14	Sèvres.	" " 66.
	" 15	Lezoux.	" " 68.

¹ Dragendorff, *Bonn. Jahrb.* xcvi, pp. 54-163. Bonn. 1895-6

² Knorr, *Die verzierten Terra Sigillata Gefäßen von Rottweil.* Stuttgart. 1907

³ Dechelette, *Les Vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine.* Paris. 1904.

Painting and Mosaic.

- B5411 **Boscotresiae** : a villa. Met. Mus., New York.
 B5420 **Corneto** : the slinger. Etruscan fresco.
 B5117 **London**. Bacchus. From Leadenhall St., Guildhall Mus.
 B5105 **Pompeii** : a water pump worked by a treadmill.
 B5410 **Rome** : a bride awaiting her bridegroom (the Aldobrandini wedding). Vat. Mus.

Coins.

- C3997 **Metapontum**, A.R. (B.M. *Guide*, iv. c. 20). Thurii, A.R. (B.M. *Guide*, iii. c. 17).
 B5115 British coins imitated from Macedonian coinage.

Minor Arts.

- C4235 Attic bronze helmet. Met. Mus., New York.
 C4236 Bronze greaves. Met. Mus., New York.
 C4234 Etruscan bronze chariot. Met. Mus., New York.
 C4207 Pair of strigils and oil-jar. Berlin Mus.
-
- C3678 Gold model of a Persian chariot (Dalton : *Oxus*, 2nd ed., pl. iv, top fig.).
 C3677 Repoussé golden bowl, with design of standing lions, 6th cent. B.C. (Dalton : *Oxus*, 2nd ed., pl. 8).
-
- C2960 The Barberini Ivory diptych. Justinian (?) mounted. Louvre.
 C3220 Ivory reliquary. Brescia.
-
- B5113 Enamelled bronze shield found at Battersea. 1st cent. B.M.
 B5415 Roman field anvil with modern specimen for comparison. Silchester Mus., Reading.
 B5416 A Roman carpenter's plane. Silchester Mus., Reading.
 B5413 Knives and keys. Vindonissa Mus., Brugg.
 B5417 Roman bucket, bronze. From Brooklands. B.M.
 B5414 Wooden bucket. From Alesia. Musée St. Germain.
 B5412 Pan pipes. From Alesia. Musée St. Germain.
 B5438 A Roman sandal. Köln Mus.
 B5418 A Roman legionary (time of Trajan). Model in the Musée St. Germain.
-
- C4066 D. G. Hogarth, portrait of.

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- The Geography of Greece** (A. J. Toynbee).
- Ancient Athens**: historical sketch (S. Casson).
- Ancient Athens**: topographical (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).
- Ancient Architecture** (D. S. Robertson).
- Greek Sculpture** (J. Penoyre).
- The Parthenon** (A. H. Smith).
- Greek Vases** (M. A. B. Brauholtz).
- A Survey of early Greek Coins**: 7 slides showing 49 coins (P. Gardner).
- Some Coins of Sicily** (G. F. Hill).
- Greek Papyri** (H. I. Bell).
- Olympia and Greek Athletics** (E. N. Gardiner).
- Xenophon**: the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's Anabasis (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).
- Alexander the Great** (D. G. Hogarth).
- The Travels of St. Paul** (no text).
- The Ancient Theatre** (J. T. Sheppard).
- Ancient Life, Greek** (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).
- Ancient Life, Roman** (annotated list of slides only, J. Penoyre).
- Rome** (H. M. Last).
- The Roman Forum** (G. H. Hallam).
- The Roman Forum**, for advanced students (T. Ashby).
- The Palatine and Capitol** (T. Ashby).
- The Via Appia** (R. Gardner).
- The Roman Campagna** (T. Ashby).
- Roman Portraiture** (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).
- Horace** (G. H. Hallam).
- Pompeii** (A. van Buren).
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- Ostia** (R. Meiggs).
- Sicily** (H. E. Butler).
- The Roman Rhone** (S. E. Winbolt).
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Earlier Sculpture.

(No really archaic works have been included.)

1. Head of a boy in the National Museum at Athens. *Circ.* 480 B.C. 12 × 9 in.
2. Apollo in the centre of the E. gable of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. *Circ.* 460 B.C. 15 × 12 in.
3. Head of a bronze charioteer at Delphi. Not later than 460 B.C. 12 × 9 in.

Sculpture of the Mid-fifth Century.

4. Slab of the frieze of the Parthenon: Poseidon, Apollo and Demeter (or Artemis). Acropolis Museum, Athens. *Circ.* 440 B.C. 15 × 12 in.
5. Bronze statue of a boy athlete at Florence. (The so-called *Idolino*.) *Circ.* 440 B.C. 15 × 12 in.
6. The 'Theseus' of the Parthenon. British Museum. *Circ.* 440 B.C. 15 × 12 in.

Architecture.

These six architectural subjects are designed to be hung in a group between the sculptures which precede and follow.

7. Ionic Architecture: The temple at Aezani in Phrygia. Hellenistic age. This, one of the finest specimens of Ionic architecture, is very little known. 15 × 12 in.
8. Pendant to above. Ionic capital from Eleusis. 8 × 8 in.
9. Doric architecture: The Parthenon. *Circ.* 440 B.C. 24 × 18 in.
10. Pendant to above. A fallen capital of the Parthenon. 8 × 8 in.
11. 'Corinthian' architecture. The Olympieion at Athens. 15 × 12 in.
12. Pendant to above. A fallen capital of the Olympieion. 8 × 8 in.

Fourth-Century Sculpture.

13. Upper part of the figure of a charioteer. Relief from the inner smaller frieze of the tomb of Mausollus at Halicarnassus. British Museum. *Circ.* 350 B.C. 15 × 12 in.
14. Tombstone of Hegeso in the Ceramicus at Athens. *Circ.* 400 B.C. 15 × 12 in.
15. Relief from Mantinea: three of the Muses. National Museum at Athens. *Circ.* 350 B.C. 15 × 12 in.

Hellenistic Sculpture.

16. Head of a bronze statue of Hermes from Cythera. Athens, National Museum. Probably Hellenistic age. 12 × 9 in.
17. Winged Victory from Samothrace. Louvre Museum. *Circ.* 300 B.C. 15 × 12 in.
18. Giant from the frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon. Berlin Museum. *Circ.* 175 B.C. 12 × 9 in.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

THE Council of the Hellenic Society having decided that it is desirable for a common system of transliteration of Greek words to be adopted in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, the following scheme has been drawn up by the Acting Editorial Committee in conjunction with the Consultative Editorial Committee, and has received the approval of the Council.

In consideration of the literary traditions of English scholarship, the scheme is of the nature of a compromise, and in most cases considerable latitude of usage is to be allowed.

(1) All Greek proper names should be transliterated into the Latin alphabet according to the practice of educated Romans of the Augustan age. Thus κ should be represented by *c*, the vowels and diphthongs, *υ*, *αι*, *οι*, *ου*, by *y*, *ae*, *oe*, and *u* respectively, final *-ος* and *-ον* by *-us* and *-um*, and *-πος* by *-er*.

But in the case of the diphthong *ει*, it is felt that *ei* is more suitable than *e* or *i*, although in names like *Laodicea*, *Alexandria*, where they are consecrated by usage, *e* or *i* should be preserved; also words ending in *-ειον* must be represented by *-eum*.

A certain amount of discretion must be allowed in using the *o* terminations, especially where the Latin usage itself varies or prefers the *o* form, as *Delos*. Similarly Latin usage should be followed as far as possible in *-e* and *-a* terminations, e.g., *Priene*, *Smyrna*. In some of the more obscure names ending in *-πος*, as *Λέαγρος*, *-er* should be avoided, as likely to lead to confusion. The Greek form *-ον* is to be preferred to *-o* for names like *Dion*, *Hieron*, except in a name so common as *Apollo*, where it would be pedantic.

Names which have acquired a definite English form, such as *Corinth*, *Athens*, should of course not be otherwise represented. It is hardly necessary to point out that forms like *Hercules*, *Mercury*, *Minerva*, should not be used for *Heracles*, *Hermes*, and *Athena*.

(2) Although names of the gods should be transliterated in the same way as other proper names, names of personifications and epithets such as *Nike*, *Homonoia*, *Hyakinthios*, should fall under § 4.

(3) In no case should accents, especially the circumflex, be written over vowels to show quantity.

(4) In the case of Greek words other than proper names, used as names of personifications or technical terms, the Greek form should be transliterated letter for letter, *k* being used for *κ*, *ch* for *χ*, but *y* and *u* being substituted for *υ* and *ου*, which are misleading in English, e.g., *Nike*, *apoxyomenos*, *diadumenos*, *rhyton*.

This rule should not be rigidly enforced in the case of Greek words in common English use, such as *aegis*, *symposium*. It is also necessary to preserve the use of *ou* for *ου* in a certain number of words in which it has become almost universal, such as *boule*, *gerousia*.

(5) The Acting Editorial Committee are authorised to correct all MSS. and proofs in accordance with this scheme, except in the case of a special protest from a contributor. All contributors, therefore, who object on principle to the system approved by the Council, are requested to inform the Editors of the fact when forwarding contributions to the Journal.

In addition to the above system of transliteration, contributors to the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* are requested, so far as possible, to adhere to the following conventions :—

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus :

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protopogenes* (*Jahrö.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; e.g. Dittenb. *Syll.*² 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

- A.-E.M.* = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Istituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abtheilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B.M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Vases = British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Istituto.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. Syll. = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Εφ. Ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Gollitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inscripfen.
Gerh. A.V. = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.¹
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Institutes.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Istituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

¹ The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows:—

- | | | | |
|-------------|------|---|---|
| <i>I.G.</i> | I. | = | Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores. |
| „ | II. | = | „ „ aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora. |
| „ | III. | = | „ „ aetatis Romanae. |
| „ | IV. | = | „ Argolidis. |
| „ | VII. | = | „ Megaridis et Boeotiae. |
| „ | IX. | = | „ Graeciae Septentrionalis. |
| „ | XII. | = | „ insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. |
| „ | XIV. | = | „ Italiae et Siciliae. |

Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.

Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.

Philol. = Philologus.

Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.

Rev. Et. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.

Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.

Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.

Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.

Röm. Mitth. = Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung.

Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.

T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.

Z. f. N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

() Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears in the original, should be represented by a special sign, ḥ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions* :—

() Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

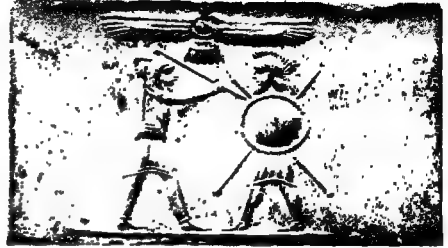
[[]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

< > Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

The Editors desire to impress upon contributors the necessity of clearly and accurately indicating accents and breathings, as the neglect of this precaution adds very considerably to the cost of production of the *Journal*.



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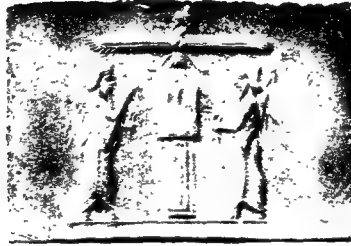
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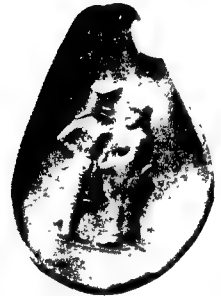
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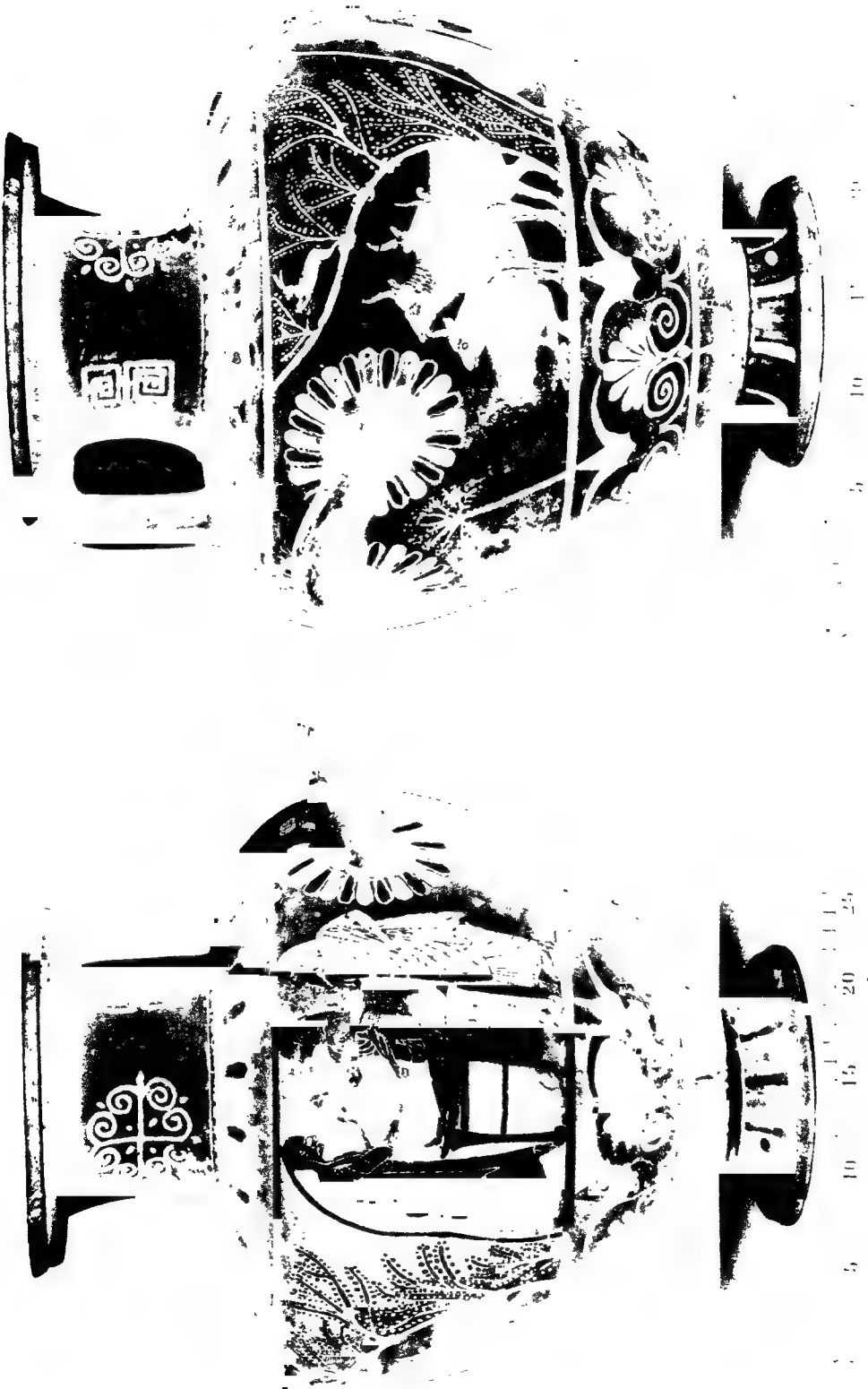
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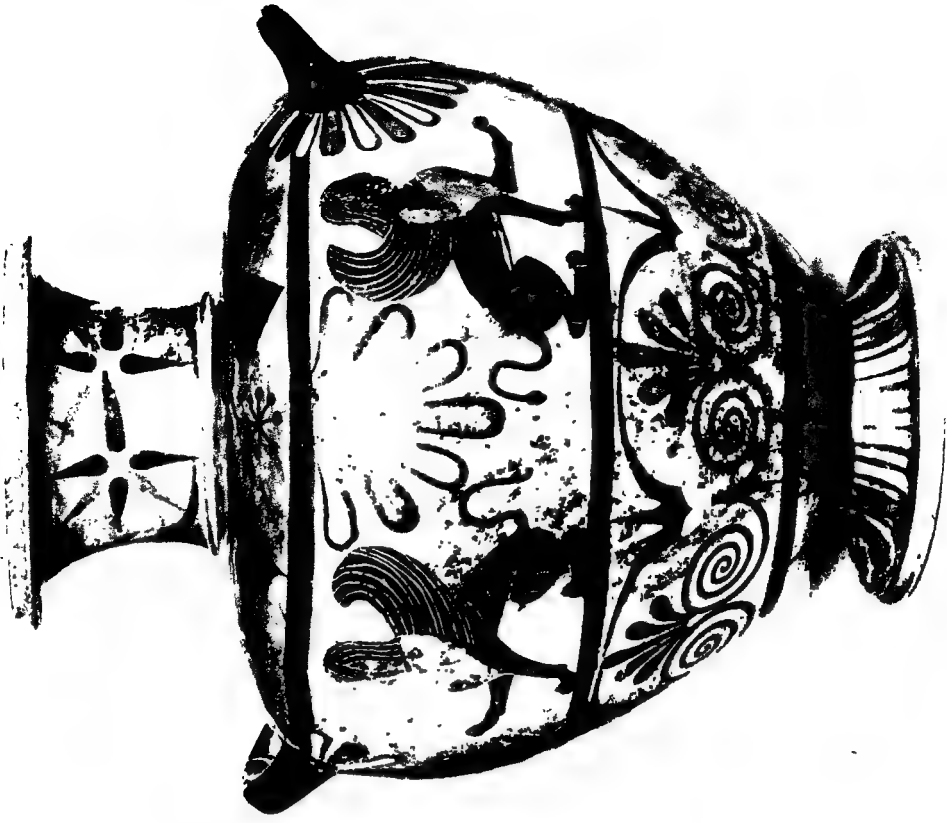
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2. BATTLE SCENE; CAERETAN HYDRIA. B.M. B 59.



SATYRS AND MAENADS CAERETAN HYDRIA. B.M 1923, 4-19, 1.



HERMES AND THE OXEN OF APOLLO; LOUVRE E 702.



SPHINXES: LOUVRE E 699.



EOS AND CEPHALOS LOUVRE E 702.



PTOLEMAIC PORTRAIT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

(Catalogue of Roman Pottery, K7)

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W.C. ✓

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